He is Omniscient
A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam
–2–

Knowing the Imams

Volume 8

A Commentary on the Verse on the Completion of the Religion; the Usurpation of the Caliphate

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Husayni Tihrani

Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

Editor
Sayyed Khalil Toussi

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Great Books of the Islamic World

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ʿAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī

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Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as," "s," or "pbh" or something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their hearts when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

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He Is Cherished
Knowing the Imams
Volume 8

A commentary on the philosophical, hadith-based, historical, and social aspects of governorship in general, and particularly that of the imamate of Alī Abī Ṭālib and the Immaculate Imams, may peace be upon them all.

Teachings based on the wisdom of the Glorious Qur'an and reasoning based thereon, and hadiths both common and particular, in addition to definitive and critical discussions concerning governorship.

1. A commentary on the verse

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

2. Alteration of God's Command, and the consequences of falling behind.
3. Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Master of the Faithful, as the arbiter of the good and the bad.
4. To obtain their greatest wishes, people must struggle for the guardianship of the Master of the Faithful.

Important topics and selected references

1. Detailed discussions, hadiths, and historical events concerning the verse

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.

2. Hadiths from great scholars, both Shi'a and Sunni, about the revelation of the verse on the completion of the religion.
3. Evidence to show the invalidity of the claim that the verse was revealed on the Day of 'Arafa, and that it was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr.
4. The disasters that befell Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' and the Master of the Martyrs on the Day of Saqīfa.
5. Taking the lead, irrespective of the commands of God and His Prophet, is a sign of interference.
6. Comments on some of the Qur'anic verses concerning the Master of the Faithful.
7. Sunni historians, commentators, and narrators who celebrated the Shaykhs (Abū Bakr and Omar), and their confessions to having acknowledged the guardianship of Ali.
8. Answering the questions that the usurpers of the caliphate raised against the Master of the Faithful.
9. "The Master of the Faithful" as a title that refers particularly to Ali.
10. How Imam Ali wished to guide the people just as the Prophet did.
11. Omar's confession that Imam Ali had a greater right to the caliphate
12. The caliphs chosen after the Prophet are historically condemned.
13. The sermons of Imam Ali on how his peaceful personality is necessary for the caliphate.

He is the Omniscient

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19. On the necessity of leaving matters with the most learned and clear-sighted.
20. How Omar disguised his innovations under the cloak of religion.
21. How Omar sketched the plan of the council in such a way that the caliphate devolved upon Othmān.
22. How Omar sacrificed true Islam for the glory of the Arabs.
23. How Mu'āwiyah substituted the mission of the Prophet with the monarchy.
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الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِينًا

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED SIX TO ONE HUNDRED NINE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may Allah's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

...This day have those who reject faith given up all hope of your religion: yet fear them not but fear Me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam for you as religion...(5:3).

The Hadith of Ibn Shahr Āshūb Concerning the Verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*

Ibn Shahr Āshūb says that Abū Ḥātam Rāzī narrated that Imam Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad stated:

فَإِذَا فَرَغْتَ فَانْصَبْ قَالَ: فَإِذَا فَرَغْتَ مِنْ إِكْمَالِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فَانْصِبْ لَهُمْ عَلِيًّا إِمَامًا.

"So when you become free from completing the religious laws, set up Ali as the imam for the people."

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي كَوَّنَ الْأَشْيَاءَ فَخَصَّ مِنْ بَيْنِهَا تَكْوِينَكُمْ. الرَّحْمَنُ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّكِينَةَ فَضَمَّنَ فِيهَا تَسْكِينَكُمْ. لَيَّنَ قُلُوبَكُمْ بِقَبُولِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ فَأَلْطَفَ تَلْيِينَكُمْ. وَلَقَّنَكُمْ كَلِمَةَ تَوْحِيدِهِ فَأَحْسَنَ تَلْقِينَكُمْ. وَعَلَّمَ أَذَانَ الشَّهَادَةِ فَأَذَّنَ بِلُطْفِهِ تَأْذِينَكُمْ. وَمَلَّكَكُمْ فِي دَارِ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى سِرِّ الْإِسْلَامِ فَأَتَمَّ دِينَكُمْ.

All praise and laudation belongs to God, Who created all things, among which, when He brought things into existence, He gave you pre-eminence. The most Merciful and Gracious God sent down peace and tranquility to all existence; He made your hearts gentle to receive His affection and knowledge, and He made this tenderness through His own Gentleness. He inspired in you His own Unity and made you understand

it, and He set this inspiration on the basis of integrity. And He taught you how to announce as witness, and He made you know this witness through His favor. And in the vast mansions of the religion, He settled you in your hidden center, and thus He completed your religion.

Abū Saʿīd Khudrī and Jābir Ibn Anṣārī have said that when the verse *akmaltu lakum dīnakum* was sent down, the Prophet stated:

اللهُ أكبرُ عَلَى إكمالِ الدِّينِ وَإتمامِ النِّعمَةِ ورِضَى الرَّبِّ بِرِسالَتِي وَوَلايَةِ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبِي طالِبٍ بَعدِي.

"God is to be greatly acknowledged for completing the religion and fulfilling His blessing, and His satisfaction with my prophethood and with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as guardian after me."

Naṭanzī has related this hadith in the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*.

Concerning the comment on this verse, ʿAyyāshī has narrated that Imam Ṣādiq stated:

اليَومَ أكمَلتُ دِينَكُم بِإقامَةِ حافِظِهِ، وَأتمَمتُ عَلَيكُم نِعمَتِي بِوَلايَتِهِ، وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإسلامَ دِينًا أيْ تَسلِيمَ النَّفسِ لِأمرِنا.

"Today, by assigning a protector to guard it, I completed your religion, and with his guardianship I fulfilled My blessing for you, and I became satisfied that Islam is your religion. Thus, by Our command, your surrender is your religion."

He has also quoted Imam Bāqir saying:

نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ يَومَ الغَدِيرِ. وَقَالَ يَهُودِيٌّ لِعُمَرَ: لَو كانَ هَذَا اليَومُ فِينَا لاَتَّخَذْنَاهُ عِيداً. قَالَ ابنُ عباس: وَأيُّ يَومٍ أكمَلُ مِن هَذَا العِيدِ.

"This verse was sent down on the Day of Ghadīr. On that same day a Jew said to Omar: 'If this day were for us, we would make it a festival.' Then, at his suggestion, Ibn ʿAbbās said: 'Which day is more complete than this festival?'"

Ibn ʿAbbās also said: "Eighty-one days after the revelation of this verse the Prophet passed away."[1]

Suday said: "After this, God sent no more verses concerning the lawful and unlawful. The Prophet made his *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the months of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, and then passed away."

There is a hadith saying that God commanded the Prophet to announce the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib when the verse *innamā walīyukum Allah wa rasūluh* was sent down. This command seemed difficult, for he was aware of corruption amongst the people, so God sent down the following verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

O Messenger! proclaim the (message) which hath been sent to thee from thy Lord...(5:67).

This was followed by another:

اذكروا نعمة الله عليكم

Mention God's blessings to you. And then:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِينًا

...This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour upon you...(5:3).

There are significant points in these five verses: the completion of the religion, the fulfilment of the blessing, God's satisfaction, the offence to Satan, and the despair of the disbelievers. God said:

اليوم يئس الذين كفروا من دينكم

This day have they who reject faith given up all hope of your religion...And it became a festival for the believers, for it has been related

الْغَدِيرُ عِيدُ اللهِ الأَكْبَرِ

"Ghadīr is the greatest of God's festivals."

ʿAudī says:

أَمَا قَالَ إِنَّ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ بِالنَّعْمَاءِ مِنِّي عَلَيْكُمْ؟
وَقَالَ: أَطِيعُوا اللهَ ثُمَّ رَسُولَهُ تَفُوزُوا وَلَا تَعْصُوا أُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ

Did He not say: *This day have I perfected your religion, and completed My favour upon you?*

Did He not say: *Obey God and the Prophet to succeed, and oppose not the commands of those in authority?*

Ṭāhir and Ḥimyarī's Elegies Concerning the Verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*

Ṭāhir wrote:

عَيَّدَ فِي عِيدِ الْغَدِيرِ الْمُسْلِمُ وَأَنْكَرَ الْبِيدَ عَلَيْهِ الْمُجْرِمُ
يَا جَاحِدَ الْمَوْضِعِ وَالْيَوْمِ وَمَا فَاهَ بِهِ الْمُخْتَارُ تَبًّا لَكُمُ
فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ تَعَالَى جَدُّهُ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ

وَالْيَوْمَ أَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَإِنَّ مِنْ نَصْبِ الْإِمَامِ النِّعَم.

Muslims have a festival on the Day of Ghadīr; but the unbelievers reject this. O you who deny the importance of Ghadīr, the Day of Ghadīr and that which the Prophet authorized; so remain far from God's blessings!

God, the Most High, said on that Day of Revelation: *This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favour upon you.* And the most important of the favors bestowed was the assigning of a certain one as guardian of the imamate.

And Ḥimyarī has said:

وَمَنْ أُكْمِلَتْ لَهُمُ الْإِيمَانَ فَارْضَوْا عِبَادَ اللهِ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ دِينَا
وَقَالَ: وَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُقِيمُوا إِلَيْكَ وَلَا يَكُونُوا مُؤْمِنِينَا.

"And be satisfied with him through whom your religion is completed, O obedient worshipers of God; (be pleased that) your religion is Islam! For God has said that they will not turn to you, nor will they believe in you."

Ḥimyarī also said:

بَعْدَ مَا قَامَ خَطِيباً مُعْلِنَا يَوْمَ خُمٍّ بِاجْتِمَاعِ الْمَحْفِلِ 1
قَالَ: إِنَّ اللهَ قَدْ أَخْبَرَنِي فِي مَعَارِيضِ الْكِتَابِ الْمُنْزَلِ 2
إِنَّهُ أَكْمَلَ دِيناً قَيِّماً بِعَلِيٍّ بَعْدَ أَنْ لَمْ يُكْمَلِ 3
وَهُوَ مَوْلَاكُمْ فَوَيْلٌ لِلَّذِي يَتَوَلَّى غَيْرَ مَوْلَاهُ الْوَلِيّ 4
وَهُوَ سَيْفِي وَلِسَانِي وَيَدِي وَنَصِيرِي أَبَداً لَمْ يَزَلِ 5
وَوَصِيِّي وَصَفِيِّي وَالَّذِي حُبُّهُ فِي الْحَشْرِ خَيْرُ الْعَمَلِ 6
نُورُهُ نُورِي، وَنُورِي نُورُهُ وَهُوَ بِي مُتَّصِلٌ لَمْ يَنْفَصِلِ 7
وَهُوَ فِيكُمْ فِي مَقَامِي بَدَلٌ وَيْلُ لِمَنْ بَدَّلَ عَهْدَ الْبَدَلِ 8

1. After the Prophet stood up to deliver a sermon to the huge crowd that gathered on the Day of Ghadīr, he spoke,
2. Saying: "Verily, God has informed me in His Book
3. That He will bring to perfection the ongoing religion of Islam through Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.
4. For he is your master, guardian, and chief. So, woe unto the one who chooses any other than him as his master and guardian.

5. And he is my sword, my tongue, my hands, and my helper from the very beginning;
6. He is my successor; he has been chosen by me, and he is the one whose love is the best of deeds on the Day of Reckoning.
7. His light is my light, and my light his light; he is always joined to me and never will we separate.
8. For you he is my successor and caliph of an upright rank. Therefore, woe upon him who breaks his promise and alters the fact.

It has been written:

أيُّ عُذْرٍ لِلنَّاسِ سَمِعُوا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ مَا قَالَ بِحَقّ
قَالَ: قَالَ اللهُ فِي تَنْزِيلِهِ: إِنَّ دِينَ اللهِ فِي ذِي الْيَوْمِ تَمّ.[2]

"What excuse do they have, who heard the Messenger of God's words on the Day of Ghadīr, saying: 'God has declared in His revealed Book that today His religion has been perfected'"?

Through his chains, Ḥākim Ḥaskānī has related from Abī Hārūn ʿAbdī and Abī Saʿīd Khudrī that when the verse *akmaltu lakum dīnakum* was sent down to the Prophet, he said:

قال: الله اكبر (على) اكمال الدين واتمام النعمة ورضى الرب برسالتي وولاية علي بن أبي طالب من
بعدي. ثم قال: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه،
وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله.[3]

"God is foremost in perfecting the religion and fulfilling the blessing, and is satisfied with my prophethood and the guardianship of Ali. O my Creator! Be the Protector of him who has Ali as his guardian, and be the enemy of the one who is the enemy of Ali! And help him who helps Ali, and humiliate the one who humiliates Ali."

Another chain from Ibn Hārūn ʿAbdī quotes Abī Saʿīd Khudrī as saying:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ دَعَا النَّاسَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ فَأَخَذَ بِضَبْعَيْهِ فَرَفَعَهُمَا، ثُمَّ لَمْ يَتَفَرَّقَا حَتَّى نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: اللهُ أَكْبَرُ عَلَى إِكْمَالِ الدِّينِ، وَإِتْمَامِ النِّعْمَةِ وَرِضَى الرَّبِّ بِرِسَالَتِي وَالْوَلَايَةِ لِعَلِيٍّ. ثُمَّ قَالَ لِلْقَوْمِ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ [وَ] الْحَدِيثُ اخْتَصَرْتُهُ.[4]

The Prophet called Ali to come to the people, and he held him with both arms and lifted him up; they remained thus when this verse was sent down:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي.

...This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you...(5:3).

Then the Prophet said: "God is the greatest in perfecting the religion and completing the blessing, and in His satisfaction with my prophethood and Ali's guardianship." Then he said: "Of whomsoever I am master, so is Ali his master."

The hadith is quite long, but this is a brief explanation.

Also, Ḥammūʾī has narrated by means of his chains Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī as quoting Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, as saying that he had related this hadith in the same way.[5] Another chain from Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī quotes Abū Saʿīd Khudrī as saying that he explained it in even more detail, together with twenty-five poems of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit.[6]

The Hadiths of Ibn Asākar, Khaṭīb Baghdādī, and Ibn Mardawayh Concerning the Verse of the Completion of the Religion

Ibn Asākar also relates this narrative through his own chains.[7]

In *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Suyūṭī quotes both Ibn Asākar and Ibn Mardawayh as saying that Khudrī related:

قَالَ: لَمَّا نَصَبَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِه) وسَلَّمَ عَلِيّاً يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ فَنَادَى لَهُ بِالْوَلَايَةِ، هَبَطَ جَبْرَئِيلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِهَذِهِ الْآيَةِ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.[8]

When the Prophet announced the guardianship of Ali on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, Gabriel brought down the verse *akmaltu lakum dīnakum*.

In addition, Hākīm Ḥaskānī has related through his own chains the following from Abū Hurayrah:

قَالَ: مَنْ صَامَ ثَمَانِيَةَ عَشَرَ[9] مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ كُتِبَ لَهُ صِيَامُ سِتِّينَ شَهْراً، وَهُوَ يَوْمُ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ لَمَّا أَخَذَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ آلِهِ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ: أَلَسْتُ وَلِيَّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، قَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ.

فَقَالَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ: بَخٍّ بَخٍّ لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ. وَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي.[10]

Whoever fasts on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah receives the reward of sixty months of fasting. And on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, when the Prophet held Ali in his arms and said: "Am I not the master and guardian of the believers?" they answered: "Yes, O Messenger of God." Then the Prophet said: "Of whomsoever I am master, so is Ali his master."

Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said: "Congratulations, O son of Abū Ṭālib! You passed the night, and now you are my master and the master of all the believers."

Then God sent down the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum wa atmamtu alaykum niʿmati.*

Khaṭīb has also narrated this, but adds the 27th of Rajab, along with the translation by Abū Nasr Habshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb Khallāl. He traces it through his own chain from Habshūn, back through Ibn Saʿd Ramlī to Zamrat Ibn Rabīʿah Qurayshī, quoting Abū Shūzab from Maṭar Waragh back to Shahr Ibn Ḥūshab, who quotes Abū Hurayrah. At the bottom of the page he adds: "This hadith is known as the Hadith of Habshūn."[11]

Ibn Kathīr Damishqī translates this event from Khaṭīb Baghdādī through his chain in the same way.[12]

And Suyūṭī, along with a translation of the verse, relates from Ibn Mardawayh, Khaṭīb, and Ibn ʿAsākir that Hurayrah said the following:

قَالَ: لَمَّا كَانَ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ وَهُوَ يَوْمُ ثَمَانِيَ عَشْرَةَ مِنْ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ. فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.[13]

"When the Day of Ghadīr Khumm approached, and it was the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the Prophet said: *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu*, and on this basis God sent down the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*."

Also, Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, through his different chain from Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm, referring to Ibn ʿAbbās's narrative, relates that he said:

بَيْنَمَا النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ بِمَكَّةَ أَيَّامَ الْمَوْسِمِ إِذِ الْتَفَتَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ إِنَّ اللهَ قَدْ أَنْزَلَ عَلَيَّ آيَةً مُحْكَمَةً غَيْرَ مُتَشَابِهَةٍ ذَكَرَنِي وَإِيَّاكَ فِيهَا سَوَاءً: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمُ الْآيَةَ.[14]

"Once when we were in Mecca during the season of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, the Prophet turned to Ali and said: "May you be happy, O Abū al-Hasan! God has sent down to me a verse that is decisive and unambiguous, and in that verse your name and mine are of the same rank. It says: *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*."

Khaṭīb Khārazmī relates from Sayyid al-Ḥuffāz that Abū Manṣūr Shahrdār Ibn Shirūya Ibn Shahrdār Daylamī, along with what is written of him from Hamadānī, has related that he said that he informed him from Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAbdūs Ibn ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbdūs Hamadānī of a book from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Isḥāq Baghawī, referring back to Hasan Ibn Olayl Ghanāwī, Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zirāʾ, Qays Ibn Ḥafaṣ, and Ali Ibn Husayn, that quotes Abū al-Hasan ʿAbdī as saying that Abū Hurayrah quoted Saʿīdī that Abū Saʿīd Khudrī said:

> When the munificent Prophet called the people to Ghadīr Khumm, he ordered them to sweep and clear the ground under the shadow of the tree. This was on a Thursday.[15] Then he called the people to approach Ali, whom he held by the arm, lifting his hand so high that the people could see his armpit. Right then, the following verse was sent down:
>
> الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِينًا.
>
> *This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam as a religion for you*...(5:3).
>
> The Prophet said:
>
> الله أكبر على اكمال الدين، واتمام النعمة، ورضى الرب برسالتي والولاية لعلي.
>
> and soon after he said:
>
> الله أكبر على اكمال الدين، واتمام النعمة، ورضى الرب برسالتي والولاية لعلي.
>
> Then the Prophet said: "God is the greatest in perfecting the religion and completing the blessing," and added
>
> اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ، وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ
>
> "By God, love him who loves Ali, and be the foe of him who is his foe; and help whoever is his helper, and humiliate whoever humiliates him."
>
> After a while, Ḥassān Ibn Thābit said: "O Messenger of God! Would you permit me to compose some poems?" The Prophet answered: "Do so, with the blessings of God, the Most High." Ḥassān then said: "Hearken to the witness of the Prophet," and continued thus:
>
> نَادِيهِمْ يَوْمَ الْغَدِيرِ نَبِيُّهُمْ بِخُمٍّ وَأَسْمِعْ بِالرَّسُولِ مُنَادِيَا
> بِأَنِّي مَوْلَاكُمْ نَعَمْ وَوَلِيُّكُمْ فَقَالُوا وَلَمْ يُبْدُوا هُنَاكَ التَّعَامِيَا
> إِلَهُكَ مَوْلَانَا وَأَنْتَ وَلِيُّنَا وَلَا تَجِدَنْ فِي الْخَلْقِ لِلْأَمْرِ عَاصِيَا
> فَقَالَ لَهُ قُمْ يَا عَلِيُّ فَإِنَّنِي رَضِيتُكَ مِنْ بَعْدِي إِمَامًا وَهَادِيَا

فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا وَلِيُّهُ فَكُونُوا لَهُ أَنْصَارَ صِدْقٍ مُوَالِيَ
هُنَالِكَ دَعَا اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ وَلِيَّهُ وَكُنْ لِلَّذِي عَادَى عَلِيًّا مُعَادِيَا.[16]

Khārazmī, also, by means of his chains from Hāfiẓ, back through Ahmad Ibn Husayn Bayhaqī, Abū ᶜAbdullāh Ḥākim, Abū Yaᶜlī, Zubayr Ibn ᶜAbdullāh Thūrī, Abū Jaᶜfar Bazzāz, Abū Ibn Ali Ramlī, Ḍamrah, Ibn Shūdhab, and Ibn Warrāq, relates the same hadith from Ḥākim Ḥaskānī in the *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* from Khaṭīb Baghdādī in the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, where they explain the verse

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam as a religion for you...(5:3).[17]

Hadiths of Ibn Mughāzilī and Ḥammū'ī Concerning the Verse of the Completion of the Religion and the Fulfilment of the Blessing

Ibn Maghāzilī relates from Abū Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ṭāwān, back through Abū al-Husayn Ahmad Ibn Husayn, Ibn Sammāk, Abū Muhammad Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nāṣir Khuldī, and Ali Ibn Saᶜd Ibn Qutayba Ramlī, that they all relate the same hadith as follows:

> He who fasts on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijja is given the reward of sixty months of fasting, for that day is the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, when the Prophet held Ali by the hand, and raising it up said:
>
> أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟! قَالُوا: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! قَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ: بَخٍ بَخٍ لَكَ يَا عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ. فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ تَعَالَى: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.[18]
>
> "Am I not a dispensation for the believers to themselves?" and they answered: "Yes, you are, O Messenger of God." He said: "Then, of whomsoever I am master, so is Ali his master." Then Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said: "Well done, O Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib! I congratulate you on being my master and the master of every believer." Thus, God, the Most High, said: *This day have I have perfected your religion.*

ᶜAllāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī has related the same hadith from the *Manāqib* of Ibn Mardawayh and Marzabānī's *Suruqt-ush-She'ar*, including the revelation of

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.[19]

Shaykh-al-Islam Ḥammūʾī relates this through two chains, one of which is from Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib, back through Ali Ibn Anjab Ibn Othmān Ibn ʿUbaudullāh Khāzin, then Imam Burhān-ad-Dīn, to Nāṣir Ibn Abī al-Makārim Muṭar Rāḍī, quoting Khārazmī through his own chains from Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī and Abū Saʿīd Khudrī. It is the same hadith that was mentioned earlier, and he goes on until he says:

ثُمَّ لَمْ يَتَفَرَّقَا حَتَّى نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

"The Prophet and Ali had not yet separated when the verse *This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam as a religion for you* was revealed." He then mentions Ḥassān 's demand from the Prophet for the composition of the poem, of which he mentions four lines.[20]

The second chain related by Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammūʾī is the same as Khārazmī's, back to Sayyid al-Ḥuffāz, quoting Abū Manṣūr Shahrdār Ibn Shirūya, which we mentioned from Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī, quoting Abū Saʿīd Khudrī. He goes on to explain that

ثُمَّ لَمْ يَتَفَرَّقَا حَتَّى نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ: الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

"They had not yet separated when this verse was revealed: *This day have I have perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion....*"

He then mentions Ḥassān's request from the Prophet to compose poems, of which he mentions four lines. This is followed by five more lines, and he says that the writer said that it is the Hadith of Ghadīr, and that there are different ways of explaining it, as did Abū Saʿīd Ibn Mālik Khudrī Anṣārī.[21]

And in his

نُزُولُ الْقُرْآنِ فِي أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

Abū Naʿīm Iṣfahānī narrates from Ali Ibn Āmir, quoting Abū al-Ḥajjāf, from Aʿmash, who narrates that Aṭiyya said:

This verse was sent down to the Prophet concerning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

يا ايها الرسول بلغ ما انزل اليك، وقد قال الله تعالى: اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الإسلام دينا.[22]

O Messenger! proclaim the (message) which hath been sent to thee from thy Lord. And God, the Exalted, said: *This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour upon you, and have chosen Islam for you as religion.*

Furthermore, in the *Nuzūl al-Qurʾān*, Abū Naʿīm quotes Qays Ibn Rabīʿ, back through Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī to Abū Saʿīd Khudrī as saying:

On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, the Prophet called the people to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ordered them to sweep and clean the area surrounding the trees. It was a Thursday, and the Prophet called Ali to him and lifted him so high[23] that his armpit was clearly seen by the people. In the meantime, while the people were still there, this verse was revealed:

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الإسلام دينا.

This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam for you as religion.

At that moment, the Prophet said:

اللهُ أكبرُ عَلَى إكمالِ الدِّينِ، وَإتمامِ النِّعمَةِ، وَرضِيَ الرَّبُّ بِرِسالَتِي وَالْوِلايَةِ لِعَلِيٍّ عَلَيهِ السَّلامُ مِنْ بَعدِي. وَسپس فرمود: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاهُ، اللّهُمَّ والِ مَنْ والاهُ وَعادِ مَنْ عاداهُ وانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ.

"God is the greatest in perfecting the religion and fulfilling His blessings, and my Lord is satisfied with my prophethood and Ali's guardianship after me. Whoever I am master to, so is Ali his master. O God, love him who loves Ali, and oppose him who is his enemy; and whosoever is his helper, so assist him, and whosoever humiliates him, so humiliate him."

Then Ḥassān stood up and read his poem, adding these lines to those we already mentioned:

فَقَالَ لَهُ قُمْ يَا عَلِيُّ فَإِنَّنِي رَضِيتُكَ مِنْ بَعْدِي إِمَاماً وَهَادِيَا
فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا وَلِيُّهُ فَكُونُوا لَهُ أَنْصَارَ صِدْقٍ مُوَالِيَا
هُنَاكَ دَعَا اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ وَلِيَّهُ وَكُنْ لِلَّذِي عَادَى عَلِيّاً مُعَادِيَا.[24]

Hadiths of Sibṭ Ibn Juzī and Sayyid Raḍī Concerning the Verse of the Completion of the Religion and the Fulfilment of the Blessing

Abū Muẓaffar, the son of Juzī, says that Ahmad Ibn Thābit Khaṭīb quotes ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashar, back through Ali Ibn Omar Dar Qutnī to Abū Nazr Habshūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb Khilāl, as saying that Abū Hurayrah reports this, going on to the end, and then says:

> When the Prophet said *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu*, this verse was revealed:
>
> اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي.[25]
>
> *This day I have l perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you.*

Sayyid Raḍī has related in *The Prideful Virtues* that Muhammad Ibn Idhaq quotes Abū Jaᶜfar as saying that his father and grandfather reported that when the Prophet was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage, he stopped at a place called Sujān, and then this verse was revealed:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.

O Messenger, make known that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, for if you do it not, you will not have conveyed His message. God will protect you from mankind (5:67).

When the Prophet's chastity and protection was guaranteed by God, *ṣalāt al-jāmiᶜa* ("hasten to the communal prayer") was called out. All the people gathered there, and he said:

مَنْ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ؟

and they all cried: "And His Prophet." Then, the Prophet held Ali by the hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ لِأَنَّهُ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْهُ، وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.

The Prophet assigned Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a sign, and said: "Of whomsoever I am master, so is Ali his master. O God, guard him who is under the guardianship of Ali, and oppose the one who is his enemy. And humiliate whoever humiliates him, and assist whoever assists him. O God, You are my witness for this nation."

This assignment of Ali as the guardian was the last sacred rule that God made incumbent upon the nation of Muhammad, after

prayer, fasting, the *ḥajj*, and the other rules they had already accepted.[26]

Ibn Kathīr Damishqī writes in his commentary that Ibn Jarīr said: "It is said that this verse was sent down to the Prophet on the way back from the Farewell Pilgrimage." Then he relates the meaning of this hadith from Abū Jaʿfar Rāḍī, quoting Rabīʿ Ibn Anas.

He then says that Ibn Mardawayh related the following from Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī and Abū Saʿīd Khudrī: "This verse was revealed to the Prophet on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, when, concerning Ali, he was saying: *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu*." He also relates it from Abū Hurayrah, in whose hadith this is recorded as happening on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, that is, when the Prophet was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage.[27]

Ibn Kathīr has recorded in his history that Ḍamrah related from Ibn Shūdhab, quoting Maṭar Warrāq as saying that Shahr Ibn Ḥūshab reported Abū Hurayrah's saying that soon after the Prophet held Ali in his hands and said *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu*, the verse

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي

was revealed.

In addition, Abū Hurayrah has said that the reward for fasting on the Day of Ghadīr is equal to that of sixty months.[28]

There are a great many hadiths by the Shiʿa recorded in their collections of *tafsīrs* and hadiths, such as those of Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm Qummī in his commentary, Shaykh Ṣadūq Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Bābawayh Qummī in his *Amālī*, Shaykh Abī Ali Ṭabarsī (Ṭabrisī) in his *Tafsīr Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, Shaykh Ṭūsī in his *Amālī*, Muhammad Ibn Masʿūd ʿAyyāshī in his *Tafsīr*, Shaykh Abū Manṣūr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarsī in the *Iḥtijāj*, Abū Ali Fattāl Nishābūrī in the *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, and still more. All of them accept without exception that this verse was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr, and Sayyid Muḥaddith Baḥrānī has related fifteen hadiths from these great men.[29]

Ali Ibn ʿĪsā from Irbil, the contemporary and friend of Ḥanbalī Muṣilī from Badakhshān, has written in the *Miftāḥ al-Naja fī Manāqib al-Āl al-Abā*, which mostly concerns the virtues and status of Ali, about the revelation of

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الإسلام دينا.

This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you Islam as religion.

He relates the event of Ghadīr Khumm from Abū Saʿīd, and then says that the Prophet raised Ali's hand and the verse was revealed. Then the Prophet said:

اللهُ أكبرُ عَلَى إكمالِ الدّينِ، وَإتمامِ النّعمَةِ، وَرِضَى الرَّبِّ بِرِسالَتِي وَالْوَلايَةِ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أبِيطالِب.[30]

"God is the greatest in completing His religion and fulfilling His blessings, and in His satisfaction with my mission and the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

After mentioning some verses about Ali's rank, he says:

> All these hadiths I have related are from the community of the Sunnis, because our rightful narrator, through whom we have related them, is a Ḥanbalī. Ibn Mardawayh has also composed a book on the virtues of Imam Ali. He has done his best, and has not been negligent. He has explained matters more attentively than the Shiʿa scholars have done so far in their books. However, I did not collect information about the revelation of the verses concerning Imam Ali by means of our own companions, since first of all, I did not want to quote them, and then I found it a waste of time to say the same things they had already put in their books.[31]

After the story of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's poem and the Ghadīr event, it has been related that Ibn Hārūn ʿAbdī (who narrates from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī about the revelation of the verse on the perfection of the religion) said:

> For a period of time, I accepted the views of the Khawārij, and I did not care for any religion until I came across Abū Saʿīd Khudrī by chance. I heard him say that people should act upon five things, four of which they do act upon, but that they forget the last. A man asked him what those four were that they act upon.
>
> Abū Saʿīd said: "They pray, pay the *zakāt*, make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and fast." The man asked: "Then what is the one they have forsaken?" and Abū Saʿīd answered: "It is the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib." The man then asked: "Is this also like those four incumbents?" and Abū Saʿīd said: "Yes." Then the man said: "So people are disbelievers for not acknowledging the guardianship," and Abū Saʿīd said: "I am without blame in this."[32]

As we have explained, none of the Shiʿa scholars say that the verse of completion was revealed on any day other than the Day of Ghadīr. They believe unanimously that it was revealed in connection with the guardianship, while the Prophet was delivering his sermon.

The Sunni Claim that the Verse on the Completion of the Religion Was Revealed on the Day of ʿArafa

Sunni scholars have related the same thing from Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Abū Hurayrah, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullāh, Mujāhid Makkī, Imam Muhammad Bāqir, and Imam Jaʿfar Ṣādiq. The great ones among them, whom we have mentioned in our book, have unanimously accepted it, although some of them believe that the verse was revealed on the eve of ʿArafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage.

Suyūṭī states that among the verses revealed to the Prophet at the time was

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم

and there is a correct hadith where Omar says that it was revealed on the Friday of the eve of ʿArafa, in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage. There are many factors to support this, although Ibn Mardawayh relates that Abū Saʿīd Khudrī said that the verse was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm. He has also extracted a similar narrative from Abū Hurayrah. Abū Hurayrah's hadith says that it happened on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, when the Prophet was returning from the Farewell Pilgrimage, but neither of these two are accurate.[33]

Ibn Kathīr Damishqi says:

> There is no doubt that these two hadiths are wrong. The correct one is that it was revealed on the Day of ʿArafa, which was a Friday. This has been narrated by Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, the Qur'an interpreter ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, and Samurah Ibn Jundub. Shaʿbī, Qatādah Ibn Da'āmat, Shahr Ibn Ḥūshab, and many great scholars have related it so. Ibn Jarīr has also related it.

And in his historical work, after explaining the hadith of Ḍamrah from Ibn Shaudhab, Maṭar Warrāq, and Shahr Ibn Ḥūshab, he relates from Abū Hurayrah that when the Prophet held Ali in his hands and said *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu*, God revealed the verse

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي.

Abū Hurayrah has said that it happened on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, and that the reward for fasting on that day is equal to that of sixty months. He says: "This hadith is quite wrong, absolutely false, because it is related in both the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* that Ali and Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said that the verse was revealed on the Day of ʿArafa, which was a Friday, and at that time the Messenger of God was in ʿArafa."[34]

In the same book, he continues by stating that Imam Ahmad related the following through a chain from Tariq Ibn Shahāb:

> A Jew went to Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you recite a verse in your Book which, if it had been revealed to us, the Jews, we would celebrate that day as one of our festivals." Omar asked: "Which verse do you mean?" and the Jew said:
>
> Where God says:
>
> اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي.
>
> Then Omar remarked: "By God, I know well the very day when the verse was revealed to the Prophet. I even know the exact moment of its revelation: It was the Friday of the eve of ʿArafa."

He relates this hadith from Būkhārī, who quotes it from Ḥasan Ibn Ṣabbah, back through Jaʿfar Ibn Aʾyun, from Omar, Tirmidhī, and Nisāʾī, and through different routes from Qays Ibn Muslim, all relating these words of Omar.[35]

However, to demonstrate the inaccuracy of this hadith, and at the same time verify that the verse was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr, we introduce two interrelated considerations.

The first consideration is that Sunni writers are of the same opinion that after the revelation of the verse on the completion of the religion, the Prophet lived only for another eighty-one or eighty-two days. Their historians say that he died on the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

Fakhr Rāzī writes in his history that the companions said that after this verse was revealed, the Prophet lived no more than eighty-one or eighty-two days, and that there was no change in the Islamic law after his death. The verse is the main source, and remains the same as it was revealed to the Prophet. The information miraculously issued from the Hidden Secret.[36] Abū al-Saʿūd is among those who confirm the number of days as eighty-one, as recorded in his book of commentaries.[37]

Ibn Kathīr Damishqī has explained how the Prophet passed away in the eleventh year after the Migration, and according to a well-known and authentic source, it was on the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.[38] This date confirms that the verse on the perfection of the religion was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr, because if we do not take the Day of Ghadīr into consideration, but instead consider the day he died (as in the accounts a day is usually omitted at the beginning of the year or from the last month), and if each of the three months of Dhū al-Ḥijja,

Muḥarram, and Ṣafar were twenty-nine days, then the period[39] between Ghadīr and his death would be eighty-one days. Alternatively, if two of the months were twenty-nine days and one thirty days, the total comes to eighty-two days.

It is obvious that the count is right if the revelation of the verse was on the 18th, the Day of Ghadīr. But if it is assumed that it was on the Day of ᶜArafa, the 19th, then the number of days between the revelation of the verse and the Prophet's death would be ninety or ninety-one days. This goes against the ideas of the Sunnis, and none have mentioned it.

The second consideration is that the phrasal verse *akmaltu lakum dīnakum* denotes the perfection of the religion, indicating that all the commands had now come down, leaving nothing to be added concerning the lawful and the unlawful after the Prophet had died.

But according to a certain connotation, there would still be certain commands revealed after the command of ᶜArafa, similar to that on the Day of Ghadīr, even though the Sunnis do not recognize them in relation to the imamate and the caliphate. This similarly applies to verses concerning usury, debts, and indirect heirs[40]—all the verses in chapter five, *al-Māʾida*—which were revealed between the Day of ᶜArafa and the Day of Ghadīr. This is because the Sunnis agree with us that *al-Māʾida* was revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage.[41]

In his *Itqān*, Suyūṭī notices this problem on their part. He says that according to what is said, the verse

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم

was revealed on the Day of ᶜArafa in the year of the Farewell Pilgrimage. This presents a difficulty, because the appearance of the verse indicates that all the commands happened beforehand. Some have stipulated this, including Suddī, who says: "After this verse, there was no revelation of the lawful or unlawful," even though the verses concerning debts, usury, and indirect heirs were revealed later on. Ibn Jarīr also noticed this discrepancy and explained that we should therefore say that the meaning of the perfection of the religion is the gathering of the Muslims in the Sacred Mosque and the removal of the disbelievers. Thus, the Muslims performed the rites of the *ḥajj*, while the disbelievers did not.

Ibn Jarīr has confirmed that the following explanation was related by Ibn Abī Ṭalḥah quoting Ibn ᶜAbbās: The Muslims used go on the *ḥajj* together with the disbelievers, and when the Chapter of Exemption was revealed, the disbelievers were prohibited from entering the Sacred House in Mecca, and the Muslims performed the rites separately. This is the great blessing that God bestowed:

وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي...[42]

and I fulfilled my blessing unto you.

It is obvious that Ibn Jarīr's paraphrase does not solve the problem, because the verse concerns the completion of the religion and the blessing. There is a shortcoming if it is perfected by a command that comes later, so the religion could not be said to be "perfected." Although the prohibition of the disbelievers was a blessing, it cannot be regarded as the perfection of the religion. Thus, Suyūṭī has only mentioned Ibn Jarīr's explanation but overlooked the main point, leaving the question unsolved. Besides, we know that the Chapter of Exemption and the prohibition of the disbelievers from entering the Sacred House appeared in the ninth year after the Migration, and naturally the event must have happened on the same day, since it states *wa al-yaum*, meaning "today," and therefore the adverb pertaining to the time must indicate the same day. After all, what else would the verse on *ikmāl al-dīn*, which includes *wa al-yaum*, mean, if revealed a year after the revelation of the Chapter of Exemption?

How the Revelation of the Verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* Was Not on the Day of ʿArafa

This brief explanation is a response to a baseless hadith found amongst the Sunnis, but the principal answer is that such hadiths completely contradict what is written clearly in the Qurʾan. More specifically, it goes against the meaning of the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*, which proves the invalidity of the narrative. In order for one to understand its meaning, the verse requires good commentaries that need to be taken into consideration.

Without doubt, the phrases *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* and *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* are very similar. This is because there is clearly a relationship between the inability of the disbelievers to prevail upon the Muslims and the perfection of the religion, and the two phrases have the same style. The nuances could be easily combined in a single phrase with one meaning.

The best confirmation of this is that the earlier and subsequent commentators and followers of the companions have taken the two phrases as one, and complementary to one another. They have interpreted them both with a single meaning, since they knew that they were revealed at the same time.

The outcome is that the two phrases, *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* and *wa raḍītu lakum Islāma dīnā* form a single sentence and have one purpose. There is no different meaning expressed, and

either there is a connection between this sentence and the verse of prohibition or there is not, because the verse of prohibition is included in this sentence. And the word *al-yaum* ("the day"), which occurs in both parts, signifies one particular time and has one meaning: the day that God completed the religion, and the disbelievers lost hope of persecuting the Muslims and ruining their religion.

Let us examine what the repetition of *al-yaum* means and its main function. Does "the day" cover a longer period, as in "Yesterday I was a child, and today I am a man," or "Yesterday I was ignorant, but today I am wise"? In the present context, the meaning of "today" encompasses the revelation of Islam and the mission of the Prophet, rather than an isolated statement such as "God sent Islam for you," "He completed the religion for you," or "He completed His blessings for you and caused the disbelievers to despair."

The latter possibility can be discounted, because the style of the sentence shows that the Muslims at the time had a religion that the disbelievers sought to ruin, which the Muslims were afraid of. But God made the Muslims secure against the disbelievers, who were made abject. The religion had not yet been completed, but then God perfected it and completed His blessing. However, before the advent of Islam, the Muslims had no religion for the disbelievers to envy, so God perfected their religion and completed His blessing.

Above all, the phrase *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* must accordingly be regarded as prior to *al-yaum ya'isa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* for the sequence to be logically correct. That is, the meaning of "today" is interpreted as referring to after the conquest of Mecca, when God defeated the disbelievers and brought down their pride, and their idols were smashed, and they lost hope of standing on their feet again. Their enmity made them desperate in their fight against Islam, in order to stop it from spreading in the world.

This interpretation is also incorrect, because the verse points to the perfection of the religion and abundant blessings, since the religion had not been perfected by the sixth year after the Migration. A great many commands were revealed after the capture of Mecca, since many commands concerning the lawful and unlawful were revealed between then and the demise of the Prophet, all of which contributed to the perfection of the religion.

Apart from this, the term *al-ladhīna kafarū* refers to all disbelievers. After the victory at Mecca, the disbelievers had not lost hope of attacking the Muslims and looting their belongings. The main reason for this was that many of the compacts and treaties that were made between the Muslims and the disbelievers remained. For example, the

Arab disbelievers were still making the *ḥajj* pilgrimage as they had in the Age of Ignorance. As God has stated:

وَمَا كَانَ صَلَاتُهُمْ عِندَ الْبَيْتِ إِلَّا مُكَاءً وَتَصْدِيَةً

And their prayer at the (Holy) House is naught but whistling and hand-clapping...(8:35).

Also, the women performed the rites naked, revealing their bodies and private parts. They would say: "Since we commit sins in our clothing, we must therefore not use them as a pilgrim's garments and circumambulate the House." This continued until the Prophet sent Ali from Medina to Mecca in the ninth year with the message of the Chapter of Exemption, which did away with the old customs.

Or it could have been after the revelation of the verse, because Islam had by then spread throughout almost the entire Arabian Peninsula, and earlier customs had disappeared. The Muslims did not come across any disbelievers in the vicinity of the Holy House on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and everything was in their hands. After long suffering and much fear, God had sent them calm and serenity. He had made their lives comfortable, so that they could worship in ease.

This is also incorrect, because although after the revelation of the Chapter of Exemption, when the time of disbelief had passed in most of the Arabian Peninsula, false customs were abandoned, and the Arab disbelievers could not overtake the Muslims, the religion of Islam was not yet perfected. Many laws and commands, as well as the Chapter of Exemption, were later sent down. We have mentioned that all are of the same opinion that the Chapter *al-Mā'ida* ("The Heavenly Food") was revealed at the end of the Prophet's life, and there are several commands included in this chapter. Therefore, in sum, there is no way to interpret the meaning of *al-yaum* in the verse as referring to a particular time, whether it was the advent of Islam, the victory at Mecca, or any other occasion that took place later on. We have no choice but to say that *al-yaum* refers to the very day that the chapter in question was revealed.

This is because

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

is in the middle of the verse in reference to food. It may have been revealed after the revelation of *al-Mā'ida* at the end of the Prophet's life, in which case it would complement God's statement

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ

So is this particular day the day of the victory at Mecca or the day when the Chapter of Exemption was revealed? This is the same problem we mentioned twice before. Does "today" mean the Day of ʿArafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage, as many Sunni scholars have said in their commentaries? If so, we cannot assume it refers to the despair of the disbelievers, because if it refers to the inability of the Qurayshī disbelievers to attack the Muslims, it would indicate the eighth year after the Migration, and not the Day of ʿArafa in the ninth year. And if it means the despair of all the Arab disbelievers, that would have been on the day the Chapter of Exemption was revealed in the ninth year after the Migration. It could not mean the despair of everyone other than the Muslims, including the Jews and Christians as well as the disbelievers, because, as the verse points out with the words *al-ladhīna kafarū*, none of them would have been afraid of the Muslims' attacking them, because Islam at that time was not strong enough, and had not prevailed throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

Therefore, what happened on the Day of ʿArafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage, the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and the tenth year after the Migration, must be clearly investigated in relation to God's words

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen Islam for you as religion (5:3).

Some might say that the meaning of "the perfection of the religion" refers to the perfection of the *ḥajj* rites, when the Prophet made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and taught the pilgrims the rites.[43] However, this is also incorrect, because how could a single command about the *ḥajj* rites be the perfection of the religion? We know that the Prophet had taught them the basics of Islam before that *ḥajj* pilgrimage, such as prayer, fasting, *zakāt*, *jihād*, and the *ḥajj* rites. He also taught them about the enjoyment *ḥajj* during the Farewell Pilgrimage, although it was not long before this sacred custom was overlooked.

Teaching people something cannot be called the perfection of the religion, let alone the teaching of its basic aspects. Apart from that, this probability dismisses the relationship between *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* and *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*, because there is no connection between the disbelievers' attacking the Muslims and the Prophet's teaching people about the *ḥajj* rites.

It might be said that the perfection of the religion refers to the final revelation about the lawful and the unlawful, which was revealed along with the Chapter of the Heavenly Food, because there were no more such verses revealed after that. This would therefore, in a sense,

perfect the religion and strike fear in the disbelievers, since it would affect them.[44]

However, we should consider who the disbelievers driven to despair were, concerning whom the verse of *al-ladhīna kafarū* was revealed. It could not have been the disbelieving Arabs, for it is clear that by that time Islam had overtaken all of them, leaving no non-Muslim among them. So, who were these desperate disbelievers?

We might assume that they were non-Arab disbelievers, since other nations had not lost hope of defeating the Muslims. The relationship of the Chapter of Heavenly Food with the Day of ʿArafa must be clarified, because there are many reliable hadiths saying that several religious commands were revealed after the Day of ʿArafa, for example the verse concerning indirect heirs at the end of the Chapter of the Women, and the verse that addresses usury. It has been related that Omar said in one of his sermons:

> The last verse that was revealed dealt with usury, but the Messenger of God passed away without explaining it to us; therefore
>
> فَدَعُوا مَا يُرِيبُكُمْ إِلَىٰ مَا لَا يُرِيبُكُمْ
>
> ("Abandon what is doubtful, and turn to the command of which you have no doubt").

Būkhārī has quoted Ibn ʿAbbās in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* as saying that the last verse revealed to the Prophet was the verse concerning usury. A skillful and learned person who well understands the meanings contained in the hadiths and the Qurʾan cannot consider these hadiths weak, nor claim that the revelation of the Verse of the Perfection of the Religion was prior to the Day of ʿArafa, since the verse does not explicitly say that *al-yaum* means the Day of ʿArafa. But it is a probability that can be confirmed when other probabilities seem unlikely. Hence, these hadiths have some credence, and should not be overlooked.

Some might say that the perfection of the religion refers to when the Sacred House was freed from the disbelievers, so that the Muslims could circumambulate it without interference.[45] But this is also incorrect, because the Sacred House was freed a year before, and the meaning of *al-yaum* has nothing to do with when God said: *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*. In any case, that might be considered the perfection of the blessing, but not the perfection of the religion.

A religion consists of a combination of beliefs and laws, and is perfected only by the addition of something to its parts. However, the cleansing of the Sacred House cannot be recognized as the perfection of the religion, because straightforward laws and commands are not

the perfection of the religion. Apart from that, it still leaves the problem of the despair of the disbelievers.

Others might say that the purpose of the perfection of the religion is a comparative statement about the prohibitions, to help the Muslims become acquainted with them and put them into practice. They could then avoid unlawful things and not fear the disbelievers, since the disbelievers despair of dominating the Muslims, whom God has dignified by guarding the religion.

A clear explanation is that the rule concerning what was unlawful to eat at the beginning of Islam involved four specifics: carrion, blood, pork, and whatever was slaughtered without mentioning the Name of God. This is in some of the chapters revealed in Mecca. The avoidance of these is also explained in the chapter "The Heavenly Food." They were not explained in detail until after the taking of Mecca, since all these rules were to be applied step by step, as with the boycott of alcohol. This was so that the Arabs would not turn away from Islam, or perceive any difficulty in the religion, and so that the disbelievers would find no reason to make the poor among the Muslims feel hopeless and forsake their religion.

Soon after Islam became dominant, and the Muslims were glorified and their situation flourished, the disbelievers lost hope of influencing them, and God strengthened the believers and appointed them over the disbelievers. Thenceforth, the Muslims stopped dealing with the disbelievers and had no fear of practicing their religion as they wished, never having to worry about plots to interfere in their affairs.

In this verse God informs the Muslims that the disbelievers have lost hope of seeing the religion decline. Accordingly, God had turned their weakness into strength, their fear into security, and their poverty into abundance, and so, by this time, they had no one to fear save God by avoiding what He had enjoined as unlawful, because the perfection of the religion leads to right action.[46]

The narrator has tried to bring several probabilities together so that each one is seen in the light of the others. By doing so, he has mixed up certain points and introduced different problems by distorting the meaning of the verse.

First of all, he has neglected to specify whether the "despair" was due to the growing power of Islam after the victory at Mecca, or the revelation of the Chapter of Exemption and its recitation to the disbelievers by Imam Ali at Aqaba. In the latter case, the Day of ʿArafa could not have been in the tenth year, because it was said that

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

"today the disbelievers behold your religion." However, they had been in despair a year or two before; therefore it should either be *qad ya²isu* ("they are in real despair") or *inna hum ā²isūn* ("they are without hope").

Secondly, he has forgotten that the term "gradually," which he mentions in relation to the prohibition of food and has compared to the drinking of alcohol. This is completely wrong, because this verse of prohibition in the Chapter of the Heavenly Food is different from the prohibitions in the chapters of the Cow and the Bee. For example:

وَمَوْقُوذَةٌ وَمُنْخَنِقَةٌ وَمُتَرَدِّيَةٌ وَنَطِيحَةٌ وَمَا أَكَلَ السَّبُعُ

...and the strangled, and the dead through beating, and the dead through falling from a height, and that which has been killed by the (goring) of horns, and the devoured by wild beasts...(5:3). There is also the mention of carrion:

وَمَا ذُبِحَ عَلَى النُّصُبِ وَأَنْ تَسْتَقْسِمُوا بِالْأَزْلَامِ

...and that which has been sacrificed on stone altars; (forbidden) also is the division (of meat) by raffling with arrows...(5:3).

The phrase

مَا أُهِلَّ بِهِ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ

is in the chapter of the Cow, and

أَوْ فِسْقًا أُهِلَّ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ بِهِ

appears in the chapter of the Cattle. There is also

وَمَا أُهِلَّ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ

in the chapter of the Bee, which says: *...and that which has been immolated in the name of any other than God* (16:115).

The verse in the chapter of the Heavenly Food explains more unlawful things than the other three verses.

If he interprets "constant" as "step by step," that is to say, God first of all stated it in brief, and then gave more details, this cannot be right, because unlawful things such as carrion, pork, blood, and animals over which a name other than God's has been invoked at the time of slaughter are in the three chapters revealed before the chapter of the Heavenly Food. But the latter verse mentions things that are not in the other chapters, such as

مُنْخَنِقَةٌ وَمَوْقُوذَةٌ وَمُتَرَدِّيَةٌ وَنَطِيحَةٌ وَمَا أَكَلَ السَّبُعُ.

This is because these were rare things that happened only now and then, and people would not have slaughtered their animals in that way any more. However, even if it seldom happened, people

would not be reluctant to eat such meat. Therefore, this is why God mentions the unlawfulness of carrion, blood, pork, and the animal slaughtered without mentioning the Name of God, but He adds these rarer things less strictly, so that people do not turn away from their beliefs.

Thirdly, it does not assume that surrender, laws, and commands, especially the perfection of religion, are the main points in the verse, for it would say:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ بَعْضَ دِينِكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ بَعْضَ نِعْمَتِي.

"This day have I completed a part of your religion and fulfilled some of My blessing unto you."

And fourthly, how is it that of all the divine legislation, God gave special attention to these brief commands on the Day of ʿArafa, and enjoined respect for them as the perfection of the religion? This should be given special attention.

Some might say that the purpose of the perfection of the religion is, as God explains, to bring the legislation to an end, because God did not send any later commands, since the religion was completed.

We should respond by asking why there were other commands revealed after the chapter of the Heavenly Food. And what of the other commands that were revealed in the very chapter sent down on the Day of ʿArafa? And, above all, there are God's words

وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

This day am I pleased with Islam as your religion. What, then, do these words mean?

It is clear that the main point here is

الْيَوْمَ رَضِيتُ

If the purpose of the verse is the satisfaction of God, then where is the main point of Islam becoming a religion? As we see, nothing specific that represents the satisfaction of God. This assumption is related to the other one.

Now that we have understood that these suggestions concerning the meaning of *al-yaum* are incorrect, we can approach its real meaning in this context, and it can be easily obtained from the verse itself. But to make the meaning clear, something else should be explained first of all.

We can understand from the verses of the Qurʾan that from the very beginning of Islam, the disbelievers were trying to uproot it.

Their enmity always worried the Muslims, and opposition from different sides caused problems for the Muslims, who were always on their guard against attack. For God has said:

وَدَّتْ طَّائِفَةٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَوْ يُضِلُّونَكُمْ

A section of the People of the Book would like to mislead you...(3:69). And elsewhere He states:

وَدَّ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَوْ يَرُدُّونَكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيمَانِكُمْ كُفَّارًا حَسَدًا مِنْ عِنْدِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ فَاعْفُوا وَاصْفَحُوا حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

Many of the People of the Book wish to make you disbelievers after your belief, through envy on their account, after the truth has become manifest to them. But forgive and overlook, until God gives His command. Indeed, God is able to do all things (2:109).

Hence, the disbelievers were always trying to create problems and make life difficult for the Muslims, because it was the new religion that had made life difficult for the disbelievers. Islam had stopped them from exceeding the bounds of anything outside its laws and commands.

What provoked their enmity was Islam—not the Muslims themselves, but their religion. The disbelievers did not seek to destroy the Muslims and ruin their religious activity as a community, but their aim was to put out the Light of God. Rather than re-establishing the disbelief that had been wiped out by Islam and the divine verses, they intended to turn the Muslims away from their belief, as God states:

وَلَا يَزَالُونَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ حَتَّى يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَنْ دِينِكُمْ إِنِ اسْتَطَاعُوا

And they will not cease from fighting against you until they turn you back from your religion, if they can (2:217).

And elsewhere He says:

إِنْ تُطِيعُوا فَرِيقًا مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ يَرُدُّوكُمْ بَعْدَ إِيمَانِكُمْ كَافِرِينَ

If you obey a party of those who have received the Book, they will make you disbelievers after your belief (3:100). And

يُرِيدُونَ لِيُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَاللَّهُ مُتِمُّ نُورِهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ. هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ

They would put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will perfect His Light, though the disbelievers are averse. He it is Who has sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may proclaim it

over all religion, though the idolaters may be averse (61:8–9).

And again:

فَادْعُوا اللَّهَ مُخْلِصِينَ لَهُ الدِّينَ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ

So call upon God, making religion pure for Him (only), though the disbelievers be averse (40:14).

Therefore, the main aim of the disbelievers was to uproot the new and fresh tree of Islam and do away with it. The only way for them to carry out their ruses was to bring enmity among the Muslims by causing them to doubt and lose hope in their religion.

The first thing they sought was to weaken the Prophet, and they determined to use their wealth to disgrace him. Concerning this, God says:

وَانطَلَقَ الْمَلَأُ مِنْهُمْ أَنِ امْشُوا وَاصْبِرُوا عَلَىٰ آلِهَتِكُمْ إِنَّ هَٰذَا لَشَيْءٌ يُرَادُ

And the chiefs among them go about, exhorting, "Walk away, and be steadfast to your gods. Indeed, this is a thing designed" (38:6).

Alternatively, they wanted to weaken him through association, as in the words

وَدُّوا لَوْ تُدْهِنُ فَيُدْهِنُونَ

They would have had you compromise, so that they might compromise (68:9). And elsewhere:

وَلَوْلَا أَن ثَبَّتْنَاكَ لَقَدْ كِدتَّ تَرْكَنُ إِلَيْهِمْ شَيْئًا قَلِيلًا

And had We not given you strength, you might almost have inclined to them a little (17:74).

Finally, they hoped that Islam would deteriorate and vanish after the Prophet's death because of the lack of a successor, since they knew that Muhammad did not have a son to uphold the religion after him. The disbelievers had taken the Prophet's mission as sovereignty disguised as prophethood. They surmised that his influence would fade away and be forgotten after his death, like the kingdoms of common rulers had done before. Those rulers had power and authority over the people, but everything came to an end after they died, and their names and reputations were soon forgotten. The laws they had set up were buried with them, unless they had children to run the country after them. Since Muhammad had no son, they assumed his religion and traditions would disappear soon after his demise. However, because of this assumption, God tells us:

إِنَّ شَانِئَكَ هُوَ الْأَبْتَرُ

For your opponent is the one without prosperity (108:3).

All this and much more constituted the desires of the disbelievers to extinguish the Light of God. In their imaginations, the Prophet's mission was no more than an ordinary game, a false invitation to a new religion that was baseless, and would fade away sooner or later. However, the gradual advent of Islam and its widespread influence among the people made them lose hope. The most important thing was the strong determination of the Prophet, which they could not stop, and his heedlessness of their offers of wealth and such.

The strength and glory of Islam made them lose hope of doing anything against the Muslims, except for one thing that they relied on, that Muhammad had no son to rule after him, to be his successor and protect Islam and the Muslims.

It should be obvious that the perfecting of the commands of a religion, no matter how strong it is, cannot stand alone. None of the religions and traditions has remained intrinsically as fresh as it was at the start, despite their greatness or their followers. They have persisted only through capable successors and rulers.

It should be clear by what has been said so far that the disbelievers' despair would increase if God appointed a successor to support His religion and the traditions of the Prophet and to guide people on the straight path. Thus, the disbelievers noticed that the religion would become larger and stronger by its transfer to a successor, and would amount to the perfection of the religion and the completion of the blessings.

It is likely that the verse in the chapter of the Cow that was mentioned earlier refers to this:

وَدَّ كَثِيرٌ مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَوْ يَرُدُّونَكُم مِّن بَعْدِ إِيمَانِكُمْ كُفَّارًا حَسَدًا مِّنْ عِندِ أَنفُسِهِم مِّن بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ فَاعْفُوا وَاصْفَحُوا حَتَّىٰ يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

Many of the People of the Book wish to make you disbelievers after your belief, through envy on their account, after the truth has become manifest to them. Forgive and be indulgent (toward them) until God gives His command. Indeed, God is Able to do all things (2:109).

To Fear God Is to Fear the Condition of Guardianship

The clause

حَتَّىٰ يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِهِ

points to this very meaning. It means that when God's Command comes, the believers are set free from the greed of the disbelievers,

and it refers to the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib through whom the religion became strong and stable.

Reliable examples that support this claim are the hadiths relating to the verse of Ghadīr Khumm, which was revealed on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, in the tenth year of the Migration, concerning the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Hence, it is no coincidence that the two following sentences are related to each other:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي

Since the meaning of "despair" in the verse is understood, we can now understand how *al-yaum* is the adverb of time for

يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا

It represents the temporal status of the verse sent on that day, indicating the time when the religion changes from a personal form to one of stability.

The verse

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

provides a two-sided genesis command, because one phrase points to the case and another indicates caution, referring to the affairs of the present time. This is because it includes the abundance of blessings that is the cause for the despair of the disbelievers regarding the religion of the believers. And the meaning of

الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا

singles out the disbelievers amongst the Jews, Christians, Magians, and so forth.

However, the negative imperative

فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ

is a guidance, but not a command. It means that after the despair of the disbelievers from which you were always in danger, you now have nothing to worry about. This is because after losing hope of achieving success, the disbelievers discontinue their efforts, since they understand that they can never achieve what they wanted. Thus, the believers are safe and protected from the disbelievers, and there is no need to fear them, hence...*fear them not, but fear Me* (2:150).

Regarding the style of the verse

فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ

(*fear them not, but fear Me*), it is understood that God is saying that one must only fear Him, rather than the disbelievers, and that one's fear must be only for the loss of the religion and nothing else.

In other words, God must be feared for the sake of losing the religion. It is a kind of threat to the listeners, but not an obligation for a specific time or occasion, since it is always necessary to fear God.

If there were no struggle, then there would be no

فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ.

So this particular fear is different from the common fear that every believer has, and is a command concerning a specific kind of discipline. Now, we should consider what kind of fear this is and its cause, and the reason for the command concerning fear in the verse.

There is no doubt that the two phrases in the verses

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

and

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي

are related, and together form a single compound statement. Therefore, the religion that God perfected on that day, and the blessings He completed, refer to a unique fact—the very thing the disbelievers sought and the believers feared. However, God made the disbelievers lose hope, and He completed and perfected the religion. He commanded the believers to be afraid only of the disbelievers' damaging it. So God perfected the very thing that He commanded the believers to be afraid of losing. The fear that God enjoined upon the believers is that He might take the religion from them, which would be a great loss.

We know from the Qur'an that there is no reason for God to remove His blessings from a nation unless it is ungrateful, as in the following:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَكُ مُغَيِّرًا نِّعْمَةً أَنْعَمَهَا عَلَىٰ قَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ.

That is because God never changes the grace He has bestowed on any people until they first change what is in their hearts; and that is because God is Hearer, Knower (8:53).

He also states:

وَمَن يُبَدِّلْ نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ مِن بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَتْهُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ

...And whoever changes God's favour after it has come to him, (should know that) God is severe in punishment (2:211).

God also gives an example of ingratitude for His blessings, and the consequences thereof, in the following verse:

وَضَرَبَ اللّٰهُ مَثَلًا قَرْيَةً كَانَتْ ءَامِنَةً مُّطْمَئِنَّةً يَأْتِيهَا رِزْقُهَا رَغَدًا مِّن كُلِّ مَكَانٍ فَكَفَرَتْ بِأَنْعُمِ اللّٰهِ فَأَذَاقَهَا اللّٰهُ لِبَاسَ الْجُوعِ وَالْخَوْفِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَصْنَعُونَ

And God sets forth a similitude: a township that dwelt secure and well content, its provision coming to it in abundance from every side, but it disbelieved in God's favours, so God made it experience the garb of dearth and fear because of what they used to do (16:112).

Therefore, what has been said so far concerning the verse

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

up to

رَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

announces to the Muslims that they are secure against the disbelievers, and are in no danger from them, for there is no way for the disbelievers to interfere with the Muslims' lives unless the Muslims themselves offer them a chance to do so. And this would happen only through their ingratitude for their perfect religion. In such a case, God would remove His blessings from them and replace affluence with poverty, so that they would have to cope with despair and misery.

Yet the Muslims did just that, and God let them see the consequences by changing His blessings to misery. If one is eager to know the summation of the truth in this verse, and the prophecy of the unseen in the command

فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ

one should consider the present situation of Islam, and then refer back to its beginnings. One should refer to the historical record and read it attentively, in order to discover the root causes of the chain of events after the demise of the Messenger of God.

Now that we have covered the meaning of *al-yaum* (today), it is time to examine the meaning of "perfection" and "completion." Rāqib Iṣfahānī says in the *Mufradāt al-Qur'ān* (*Dictionary of the Qur'an*):

كَمَالُ الشَّيْءِ حُصُولُ مَا هُوَ الْغَرَضُ مِنْهُ.

"The perfection of a thing is obtaining what is expected of it."

وَتَمَامُ الشَّيْءِ انْتِهَاؤُهُ إِلَى حَدٍّ لَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَى شَيْءٍ خَارِجٍ عَنْهُ وَالنَّاقِصُ مَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَى شَيْءٍ خَارِجٍ عَنْهُ

Perfection means no need of improvement, and any defect indicates a lack of perfection. An instance of this would be if just one aspect is missing from a whole entity, for that entity would be incomplete. For example, in the case of fasting, if a person eats even just a little during

a fast, the fast is void. So, in order to be valid, it has to be complete, as the following verses state:

ثُمَّ أَتِمُّوا الصِّيَامَ إِلَى اللَّيْلِ.

...then complete the fast till the night approaches...(2:187); and

وَتَمَّتْ كَلِمَةُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلًا.

And the Word of your Lord finds its fulfilment in truth and in justice...(6:115).

فَمَنْ لَمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامُ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ فِي الْحَجِّ وَسَبْعَةٍ إِذَا رَجَعْتُمْ تِلْكَ عَشَرَةٌ كَامِلَةٌ

...if anyone wishes to continue the ʿumrah *on to the* ḥajj, *he must make an offering, such as he can afford (or find), but if he cannot do so, he should fast three days during the* ḥajj *and seven days on his return, making ten days in all...*(2:196). We can see how one day contributes to the perfection of the whole, and each day is necessary for perfection as a whole.

In the verse

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي

the word

دِينَكُمْ

("your religion") includes all the knowledge and commands, and leaves only the blessings as a particular aspect to be perfected on the specific day of completion.

Blessings work together with nature as something nature is never without. If existent things in the world are related to each other, they should be considered as blessings, as where God says:

وَإِنْ تَعُدُّوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ لَا تُحْصُوهَا.

...and if you would count the bounty of God, you cannot reckon it...(14:34), and also

وَأَسْبَغَ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعَمَهُ ظَاهِرَةً وَبَاطِنَةً

...and has bestowed His favours upon you, both seen and unseen...(31:20).

However, God has singled out certain things as evil, such as meanness, debauchery, and other wicked attributes, as in the following verse:

وَمَا هَذِهِ الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا لَهْوٌ وَلَعِبٌ وَإِنَّ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ لَهِيَ الْحَيَوَانُ لَوْ كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ.

The life of this world is but a pastime and game. But surely the home of the Hereafter, that is life indeed, if they only knew (29:64).

And similarly in

لَا يَغُرَّنَّكَ تَقَلُّبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فِي الْبِلَادِ. مَتَاعٌ قَلِيلٌ ثُمَّ مَأْوَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمِهَادُ

Let not the vicissitude (of the success) of those who disbelieve deceive you. It is but a brief comfort; their final abode is Hell, a wretched abode (3:196–97). These verses indicate things that are considered as blessings, and God has created them to be agreeable for man. They are created as guidance for showing mankind the right path to nearness to God Himself, through genuine servitude and humility before Him. God states:

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

I created the jinn *and mankind only that they might worship Me* (51:56).

Therefore, whatever man attains and then uses in order to become closer to the greatness of his Creator and receive His affection is a blessing and a privilege. However, if he uses it wrongly, it leads to adversity.

Accordingly, nothing in itself can be considered a privilege or a hindrance. It is simply that when things are used in the right way—the way that leads man to his Creator—they can be regarded as blessings. In other words, a blessing is in fact the very sanctity of God, and whatever is attributed to the blessing includes this sanctity, which requires servitude. For God has said:

اللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُخْرِجُهُمْ مِنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ

God is the Protecting Guardian of those who believe. He brings them out of darkness into light (2:257).

And also:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَىٰ لَهُمْ

That is because God is the Protector of those who believe, but the disbelievers have no protector (47:11).

And concerning the sanctity and guardianship of His Prophet, God states:

فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا

But no, by your Lord, they will not believe (in truth) until they make you judge in all disputes between them, and find within themselves no dislike of that which you decide, and submit with full submission (4:65).

According to these verses, Islam is a set of comprehensive laws and commands—a religion—through which God invites the creatures to obey only Him. And the worship of God, reverence for His

sanctity, and belief in the guardianship of His Prophet and those in authority are blessings.

The religion sent by God for the benefit of His creatures cannot be perfected without the guardianship of His Prophet, and this guardianship cannot become complete without the guardianship of those in authority after him. And the religious policies of those in authority are through God's permission:

يٰأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ

O you who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger, and those in authority among you (4:59).

And also

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوٰةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوٰةَ وَهُمْ رَٰكِعُونَ

Your protector can only be God, and (therefore) His Messenger and those who believe, who establish prayer and pay the poor due, and bow down (in prayer) (5:55).

There is a detailed discussion of this verse in lessons seventy-two to seventy-five of *Knowing the Imams*, volume 5.

The subject of our discussion so far has been the interpretation of *al-yaum* as meaning the day that the disbelievers despaired over the religion, when God sent down comprehensive commands to complete and perfect His blessings and assign guardianship over the people. Before that, guardianship was only with God and His Prophet. This was enough for as long as revelations were being sent down, but things were different when the revelations stopped. This was because there were no more prophets to maintain the religion and avoid any calamity that might disrupt it. Therefore, a successor to the Prophet was necessary to function as a guardian over the nation after his death. This would mean that the guardianship at the time of the Prophet was incomplete, and would be perfected after a guardian was assigned by him.

The verse therefore means in effect: Now that the legislation of the religion is completed, and the guardianship also, I am pleased that you have a religion based on monotheism such as Islam, whereby only God is worshiped. Obey none except God and those to whom He has given authority. No one is to be obeyed other than the Prophet and the custodians of your religion.

The verse informs us that for a long time the believers were afraid of not being able to keep their religion safe. God was satisfied to assign them the religion of Islam, which is based on monotheism. So it was their duty to worship God, but not those to whom God had given

no authority. This can be seen by close attention to the particles in the verse

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ

And the verse

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

This day are those who disbelieve in despair of (ever harming) your religion: yet fear them not, but fear Me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion (5:3).

The Verse of the Completion of the Religion as Equivalent to *waᶜda Allah al-ladhina minkum*

And with close attention to the chapter *al-Nūr* ("The Light"), one becomes familiar with the promise that God has made, because He states:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُم مِّن بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَن كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَٰلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

God has promised those among you who believe and do righteous deeds, that He will surely grant them succession (to authority) upon the earth, even as He caused those who were before them to succeed (others); and that He will surely establish for them their religion, which He has approved for them, and will give them in exchange safety after their fear, for they serve Me and ascribe no thing as partner to Me. Those who disbelieve after that, they are the miscreants (24:55).

We can see that God has made a promise to the believers and those who do good deeds. On top of that, He has promised them that they will settle in the earth, their fear will be changed into security though having the guardianship and being able to pray for God's satisfaction, by worshiping Him alone, and ascribing nothing to Him, as in the words

يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا

So worship Me without ascribing anything to Me. This is similar to the statement

وَمَن كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَٰلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

And whoso disbelieves after that, they are indeed the ungodly, which amounts to the same thing. It is clear from the phrase

الْيَوْمَ يِئِسَ، وَالْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ، وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ، وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلاَمَ دِينًا

that all these things are due to this promise. And the best promise of all is that there will be the advent of a proof after Muhammad, the holy son of al-Hasan al-Askarī.

Therefore, it becomes evident that the adverbial form of "time" employed for the completion of the religion and the perfection of the blessing indicates no other day than the Day of Ghadīr Khumm. This can be deduced as the exact meaning of the verse. We have seen that most of the relevant Sunni hadiths are related from Omar, who claimed that *al-yaum* referred to the Day of ʿArafa. However, since they do not agree with the Qurʾanic text, they are incorrect. Even though Būkhārī and Muslim recorded these hadiths, this does not mean they are right, since, as already mentioned, Būkhārī and Muslim have not recorded the event of Ghadīr. It can therefore be seen how worthless these two books are, since they both knew of it, but omitted it from their books. We should question how accurate these two books are, to which Sunni scholars have referred since the caliphate of the Banī al-Abbās, and from which they even now derive rulings.

Apart from this, the hadiths concerning the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum,* which is about the guardianship of Ali, have been recorded in more than twenty hadiths by both the Shiʿa and the Sunnis, and are all related to the following verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللهَ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Make known that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, for if you do it not, you will not have conveyed His message. God will protect you from mankind. Indeed, God does not guide the disbelieving people (5:67).

Over twenty-five hadiths by the Shiʿa and the Sunnis all relate to the event of Ghadīr:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلاه

("Of whomsoever I am master, so is Ali his master"). And as we have already ascertained, the event of Ghadīr has been successively related one hundred ten times by the companions, quoting the Prophet. Besides the Shiʿa scholars, a great many Sunni scholars have agreed, and related it in their books.

They all believe that the event of Ghadīr happened when the Prophet was returning from Mecca to Medina, and that it was nine days after the Day of ʿArafa. As, for example, with friendship, this guardianship, the necessity of which the Qur'an affirms on several occasions, is one amongst the other religious duties. Thus, it is not permitted to add laws after the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*. The Perfection Verse was definitely revealed after the assignment of the guardianship, and it could not have been on the Day of ʿArafa. Therefore, the other hadiths lack authenticity.

However, there is something that must be taken into consideration, by closely investigating the two following verses:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

and

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

Along with these verses, hadiths concerning them by both the Shiʿa and the Sunnis, successive hadiths about Ghadīr, and the history and conditions of Islamic society at the end of the Prophet's life should be examined. A thorough and attentive investigation of these hadiths and the history of Islam reveals the fact that the revelation of the verse was just a few days before Ghadīr, but the Prophet was afraid that the people would disagree and not accept it—and not only disagree, but doubt his prophethood. This was the only reason he delayed the announcement of it until the Day of Ghadīr, when the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ

was revealed and fulfilled the Prophet's expectations. Therefore, it is understandable that God would reveal the greater part of the Chapter of *Māʾida*, which includes *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*, along with the command regarding the guardianship on the Day of ʿArafa, and then that the Prophet would delay announcing it until the Day of Ghadīr, but recite the Perfection Verse on the Day of ʿArafa.

But according to some of the hadiths, it is likely that the Perfection Verse was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr, which means that it coincided with the Prophet's announcement of the guardianship, about which the verse is concerned. Thus, the concurrence of the two groups of hadiths—those that say that the revelation was on the Day of ʿArafa, and those that say it was on the Day of Ghadīr—eliminates the inconsistency, since the implication is that it happened on both days. There is no contradiction between its revelation on the Day of ʿArafa

and its announcement of the Day of Ghadīr. But what has been written in the hadiths about the Day of ʿArafa, that the verse refers to the perfection of the religion and the commands concerning the rites of the *ḥajj* and so on, is all the opinion of the writer, but not what the Prophet said.

A witness to our way of grouping the hadiths is another hadith, where ʿAyyāshī quotes Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Khuzāʿī, from his father, who relates that Ṣādiq stated:

لَمَّا نَزَلَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيهِ وَ آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَرَفَاتٍ يَومَ الجُمُعَةِ أَتَاهُ جَبرَئِيلُ فَقَالَ لَهُ: إِنَّ اللهَ يُقرِئُكَ السَّلامَ وَيَقُولُ لَكَ: قُل لِأُمَّتِكَ: اليَومَ أَكمَلتُ لَكُم دِينَكُم بِوَلايَةِ عَلِيِّ بنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَ أَتمَمتُ عَلَيكُم نِعمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسلامَ دِينًا، وَلَستُ أُنزِلُ عَلَيكُم بَعدَ هَذَا. قَد أَنزَلتُ عَلَيكُم: الصَّلاةَ وَالزَّكَاةَ وَالصَّومَ وَالحَجَّ، وَهِيَ الخَامِسَةُ، وَلَستُ أَقبَلُ هَذِهِ الأَربَعَةَ إِلَّا بِهَا.[47]

When the Prophet reached the land of Arafat on that Friday, Gabriel approached him and said:

> God greets you and says:
>
> > Announce to your nation that this day, by assigning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as guardian, I have perfected your religion for you, and I have fulfilled My blessing unto you, and I am pleased and satisfied for Islam to be your religion. And after this, I will not send you any command. I have sent you the commands of prayer, fasting, *zakāt* and the *ḥajj*, and this fifth one is also among them. Therefore, from now on, I will not accept any of those four from you without this fifth, regarding the guardianship.

The Jews' Saying That If the Completion Verse Had Been Revealed to Them, They Would Celebrate the Day

In addition, there is another discrepancy in Omar's claim that the verse was revealed on the Day of ʿArafa, because it has been written in all these hadiths that Kaʿb[48] said to Omar:

إِنَّ فِي القُرآنِ آيَةً لَو نَزَلَت مِثلُهَا عَلَينَا مَعشَرَ اليَهُودِ لَاتَّخَذنَا اليَومَ الَّذِي نَزَلَت فِيهِ عِيدًا ـ وَهِيَ قَولُهُ: اليَومَ أَكمَلتُ لَكُم دِينَكُم (الآية) ـ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: وَاللهِ إِنِّي لَأَعلَمُ اليَومَ، وَهُوَ يَومُ عَرَفَةَ مِن حَجَّةِ الوَدَاعِ.[49]

"There is a verse in the Qurʾan that, if it had been revealed to us, the Jews, we would celebrate the day of its revelation, and that verse is *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*."

And Omar said: "By God, I know it was revealed on the same day as the Day of ᶜArafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage."

Also, Ibn Rāhwayh and Abn Ibn Ḥamīd have related this in a similar fashion from Abū al-ᶜĀlīya, as follows:

> They were with Omar, and when their discussion turned to this verse, a certain educated man said: "If we knew on what day this verse was revealed, we would celebrate that day." Then Omar said:
>
> الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَهُ لَنَا عِيداً وَالْيَوْمَ الثَّانِي، نَزَلَتْ يَوْمَ عَرَفَةَ، وَيَوْمُ الثَّانِي النَّحْرَ فَأَكْمَلَ لَنَا الْأَمْرَ فَعَلِمْنَا أَنَّ الْأَمْرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فِي انْتِقَاصٍ.
>
> "Praise be to God, for He assigned it as a festival for us, as well as the following day. This verse was revealed on the Day of ᶜArafa, and the day after was the Feast of the Sacrifice. God completed all matters for us, and we knew that after that there would be a decrease."

And in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Suyūṭī explains the verse differently to Abī Shaybah and Ibn Jarīr, by quoting Antarat as saying:

> When the verse
>
> الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ
>
> was revealed, it was the Day of the Festival of the Sacrifice at the time of the *ḥajj*, and Omar cried. The Prophet asked: "Why are you crying?"
>
> قَالَ: أَبْكَانِي أَنَّا كُنَّا فِي زِيَادَةٍ مِنْ دِينِنَا فَأَمَّا إِذْ كَمُلَ فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَكْمُلْ شَيْءٌ قَطُّ إِلَّا نَقَصَ. قَالَ: صَدَقْتَ.[50]
>
> Omar said: "The cause of my tears is that up until now, we were always given in abundance, but after the religion is perfected, there is nothing more to be perfected, and there will be a decrease in it." And the Prophet said: "You are right."

In *al-Durr al-Manthūr* he relates the same hadith, but in another style, from Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal quoting ᶜAlqama Ibn ᶜAbdullāh Muznī, who said:

> A man told me that he was in a session with Omar Khaṭṭāb, who said to a man from his tribe: "How did you hear the Messenger of God explaining that?"
>
> The man answered:

سَمِعْتُ رَسولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه (و آله) وسلم يقولُ: إنَّ الإسْلامَ بَدَأَ[51] جَذَعاً ثُمَّ ثَنِياً ثُمَّ رَبَاعِياً ثُمَّ سَدَسِياً ثُمَّ بَازِلاً. قَالَ عُمَرُ: فَمَا بَعْدَ البُزُولِ إلّا النُّقصان.[52]

I heard the Prophet saying:

> In the beginning, Islam came into existence like a young animal; so young that it had no teeth in its mouth. Then it grew into a young animal, with four teeth in its mouth. It grew more, until it had four more teeth in its mouth. It grew even more, and was a young animal approaching maturity. Then it grew and became like an animal with a mouth filled with teeth, perfect and without defect.

Then Omar said: "There is nothing left after an animal is grown and becomes strong, except for it to begin to become weaker and weaker."

In some Sunni hadiths it has been recorded that when the Verse of the Perfection of the Religion was revealed, Abū Bakr cried, and when they asked him the reason, he said: "Perfection is the indicator of deterioration."[53]

These collections of hadiths prove that the revelation of the Verse on the Day of ᶜArafa was an important event for Omar and Abū Bakr, as well as for others who had seen the advent of Islam and the greatness of the *ḥajj* in Mecca, and who considered the perfection of the religion and the fulfilment of the blessing to be gratifying for the Muslims. This was because they had no religion like Islam before, whereby they could live in peace without being fearful of the disbelievers when performing the *ḥajj* rites.

In other words, this means that the perfection of the religion and the fulfilment of the blessing was the best thing they had received, and now they could put it into practice. They did so without fear of enemies who might disturb them in the practice of their religion, and the Muslims were not obliged to practice their old, false religion. In short, they witnessed the glory and strength of Islam, without excess or defect.

Nevertheless, none of the commands and legislation sent down by God have any excess or defect, because the excess and defect mentioned in

إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَكْمُلْ شَيْءٌ قَطُّ إِلَّا نَقَصَ

refers to the ordinary innovations within tradition that tend to occur. But religion as such has nothing to do with such things, and the rules of the religion are never altered by them, except for those who say that religion is inconsistent, as are other social customs and traditions.

When this is understood, it becomes clear that there are two difficulties involved with this way of thinking.

The first is that what they have taken as the meaning of the religion is not its real meaning, because God's words *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* do not indicate that. Secondly, how could God call an incomplete religion complete, and present it to His creatures? The earth was cleansed of disbelievers, and the Muslims could practice their religion without fear, though there were still some among the people who caused even more damage than the disbelievers. These were the hypocrites who always found a way into the Muslim community by trickery and deceit. They constantly tried to create doubt and cause the Muslims to despair of their new religion.

There are many strange stories about the hypocrites, and they are mentioned in many verses of the Qur'an, such as the chapters of the Cow, the Women, the Heavenly Food, the Spoils, the Repentance, the Parties, and certain others.

We do not know how, but they nonetheless came to an end and their trickery stopped. What is more, if the hypocrites flourished, how could God tell His creatures of His favor by perfecting the religion and fulfilling His blessing, or be satisfied with the appearance of Islam while its enemies drove the Muslims from Mecca? We know from the Qur'an and history that the hypocrites posed a greater danger to Islam than the disbelievers did, and the following verse proves this:

هُمُ الْعَدُوُّ فَاحْذَرْهُمْ

They, only they are the enemies, so beware of them.

How could it be imagined that God reminds His creatures that His favor through the appearance of His religion is perfect if its kernel were void? Or explain that His blessing is perfect if it were not yet fulfilled? Or declares His satisfaction when something is lacking? Yet He states:

وَمَا كُنتُ مُتَّخِذَ الْمُضِلِّينَ عَضُدًا.

...nor choose I misleaders for (My) helpers (18:51).

And concerning the hypocrites and their religion and behavior, God states:

فَإِن تَرْضَوْا عَنْهُمْ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَرْضَىٰ عَنِ الْقَوْمِ الْفَاسِقِينَ.

...but if you are pleased with them, God is not pleased with those who disobey (9:96).

He also states:

سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ.

Whether you ask forgiveness for them or ask not forgiveness for them is all one for them; God will not forgive them. Truly, God does not guide rebellious transgressors (63:6).

And also:

إِسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لَا تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِنْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ

Ask forgiveness for them, or ask not forgiveness for them; though you ask forgiveness for them seventy times, God will not forgive them (9:80).

However, the verse gives way to the completion of the religion and the fulfilment of God's blessing, and binds God's satisfaction with Islam in some way or another. For example, apart from inwardly, it does so outwardly, and this reveals nothing other than the real meaning. And as we have already mentioned, the Verse of the Completion of the Religion hinges on the words

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ

which address all Muslims whose inward and outward actions are in harmony. Their outward actions are whatever Islam commands, which is what God has legislated.

Therefore, the meaning of the completion of the religion is that God's legislation is completed. After having put it in the shape of religious legislation, He has sent it all down, so that it may settle in the hearts of the believers, enabling them to worship God after their fear and despair about the disbelievers has faded away.

This is the same meaning that we already mentioned: that the perfection of the religion is its completion according to God's instruction, and that there remain no further religious duties after its revelation, nor is there to be any change in those already established. A short and simple explanation of the meaning of the completion of the religion is that it was improved step by step, until there remained no defect when it was perfected.[54]

And an astonishing discussion of the verse from

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ وَالْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ

Today those who disbelieve are in despair of your religion, and today I perfected your religion, up to

وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

and I am satisfied with Islam as your religion is the central feature of what our master, Ayatollāh ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, said, as we already discussed in the previous lessons concerning *al-Mīzān fi Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*.[55]

Although we have thoroughly discussed the verse, a surprising aspect of the verse from

ٱلْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ مِن دِينِكُمْ وَٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ

up to the phrase

وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ ٱلْإِسْلَٰمَ دِينًا

is that it is quite clear that it refers to the guardianship, even though the prohibitions concerning food are put in the middle of it. The beginning of the verse says:

حُرِّمَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ ٱلْمَيْتَةُ وَٱلدَّمُ وَلَحْمُ ٱلْخِنزِيرِ وَمَآ أُهِلَّ لِغَيْرِ ٱللَّهِ بِهِۦ وَٱلْمُنْخَنِقَةُ وَٱلْمَوْقُوذَةُ وَٱلْمُتَرَدِّيَةُ وَٱلنَّطِيحَةُ وَمَآ أَكَلَ ٱلسَّبُعُ إِلَّا مَا ذَكَّيْتُمْ وَمَا ذُبِحَ عَلَى ٱلنُّصُبِ وَأَن تَسْتَقْسِمُوا۟ بِٱلْأَزْلَٰمِ ذَٰلِكُمْ فِسْقٌ

Forbidden to you (for food) are carrion and blood and swineflesh, and that which has been dedicated to any other than God, and the strangled, and the dead through beating, and the dead through falling from a height, and that which has been killed by (the goring of) horns, and the devoured of wild beasts, save that which you make lawful (by the death-stroke), and that which has been immolated before idols; (forbidden) also is the division (of meat) by raffling with arrows. That is an abomination (5:3).

And then God explains the verse as follows:

ٱلْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ مِن دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَٱخْشَوْنِ ۚ ٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ ٱلْإِسْلَٰمَ دِينًا

This day are those who disbelieve in despair of (even harming) your religion; so fear them not, fear Me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you Islam as religion (5:3).

After this verse, God states an exception to the prohibitions:

فَمَنِ ٱضْطُرَّ غَيْرَ بَاغٍ وَلَا عَادٍ فَلَآ إِثْمَ عَلَيْهِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

But he who is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, it is no sin for him, for God is Forgiving, Merciful (2:173).

Close attention to the beginning and the end of the verse, that is

حُرِّمَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ ٱلْمَيْتَةُ

and

فَمَنِ اضْطُرَّ فِي مَخْمَصَةٍ

shows us that this forms a complete statement, unrelated to the part from

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ

to

وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

at the end of the verse.

This is similar to the verses in the chapters of the Cow, the Cattle, and the Bee, where prohibitions are also explained.

The verse in the chapter of the Cow is as follows:

إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْمَيْتَةَ وَالدَّمَ وَلَحْمَ الْخِنزِيرِ وَمَا أُهِلَّ بِهِ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ

He has forbidden you only carrion, and blood, and swineflesh, and that which has been immolated to (the name of) any other than God. The exception is

فَمَنِ اضْطُرَّ غَيْرَ بَاغٍ وَلَا عَادٍ فَلَا إِثْمَ عَلَيْهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

But he who is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, it is no sin for him, for God is Forgiving, Merciful (2:173). And in the chapter of the Cattle, it states:

قُل لَّا أَجِدُ فِي مَا أُوحِيَ إِلَيَّ مُحَرَّمًا عَلَىٰ طَاعِمٍ يَطْعَمُهُ إِلَّا أَن يَكُونَ مَيْتَةً أَوْ دَمًا مَّسْفُوحًا أَوْ لَحْمَ خِنزِيرٍ فَإِنَّهُ رِجْسٌ أَوْ فِسْقًا أُهِلَّ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ بِهِ

Say, I find not in that which is revealed to me aught prohibited to an eater that he eat thereof, except it be carrion, or blood poured forth, or swineflesh—for indeed it is impure—or, what is impious, (meat) on which a name has been invoked other that God's. And continues with the exception

فَمَنِ اضْطُرَّ غَيْرَ بَاغٍ وَلَا عَادٍ فَإِنَّ رَبَّكَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

But whoso is compelled thereto, neither craving nor transgressing, (for him) indeed God is Forgiving, Merciful (6:145).

The chapter of the Bee states:

إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْمَيْتَةَ وَالدَّمَ وَلَحْمَ الْخِنزِيرِ وَمَا أُهِلَّ لِغَيْرِ اللَّهِ بِهِ

*He has forbidden for you only carrion and blood and swineflesh, and that which has been immolated in the name of any other than God...*And the exception is

فَمَنِ اضْطُرَّ غَيْرَ بَاغٍ وَلَا عَادٍ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

...but he who is driven thereto, neither craving nor transgressing, then indeed, God is Forgiving, Merciful (16:115).

In these four chapters we see that God states the prohibitions in the same style, as well as permitting such food in the case of necessity. The verses that interrupt the style of the verse we are considering, and create breaks between the prohibitions and the exception through necessity, are the following: *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū min dīnakum* (*This day are those who disbelieve in despair of (ever harming) your religion*), up to *wa raḍītu lakum Islāma dīnā* (*and have chosen for you Islam as a religion*) (5:3). This is in the verse of the Heavenly Food, where the description of the exception is between the prohibitions. Two phrases that both explain one idea are separated by a parenthetical phrase that mentions something else.

Commentators emphasize the gap between these two phrases so that the whole is not taken as an indication of the significance of the day when the disbelievers despaired of the Muslims' religion, and the Muslims had no need to fear them, but fear only God—the day when God perfected and fulfilled His blessing. It was the same day that commands about prohibited food were issued, and commentators have focused on this detail in order to defer the main meaning, which concerns the guardianship, and thereby distract attention from this important aspect. They have tried to prevent people from searching for the real meaning, and to imagine that the verse speaks of lesser matters, such as a discussion about the disbelievers and what food is permissible.

Our point is that *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* is a parenthetical phrase in the middle of the verse, which, taken as a whole, expresses the full meaning. It makes no difference whether it is claimed that it is in the middle of the verse, and has been there from the beginning to separate the two other parts, or that the Prophet has ordered the transcribers of the revelations to put the parenthetical phrase in between the two other parts of the verse. In either case, it makes no difference, for the parenthetical phrase can be considered secondary to the main part of the verse.

In any case, *al-yaum yaʾisa al-ladhīna kafarū dīnakum* is an independent statement, and with close consideration, it becomes clear that it stands alone, and its appearance in the verse does not change the meaning.

ʿAbd Ibn Ḥāmid has quoted from Shaʿbī that *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* was revealed to the Prophet in ʿArafa, and that whenever a verse seemed to be particularly surprising to the Prophet, he

placed it in the beginning of certain chapters, such as when Gabriel taught him how to fulfil the *ḥajj* rites.

However, it might be that those who arranged the Qurʾan placed it where it is after the Prophet's death, especially according to hadiths that have been related by the Sunnis saying that the revelation of the verse *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum* was on the Day of ʿArafa. As we already said, these include Omar, Muʿāwiyah, Samurah Ibn Jundub, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the reason for including Samurah Ibn Jundub is clear. They back up their claim by mentioning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib among the narrators.

Mullā Ali Khūʾī Azarbāyjānī's Elegy to Ali

Now, as the final part of our discussion, it is time we introduce a selected elegy of the highly respected sage Mullā Ali Khūʾī Azarbāyjānī concerning the attributes of Ali. It is composed according to the style and natural disposition of the men of wisdom:

هاعَلِي بَشَرٌ كيفَ بَشَرْ رَبُّهُ فِيهِ تَجَلَّى وَظَهَرْ 1

مَاهُوَ اللهُ وَلَكِنْ مَثَلاً مَعَهُ اللهُ كَنَارٍ وَحَجَرْ 2

عَلَّةُ الكَوْنِ وَلَوْلاهُ لَمَا كَانَ لِلْعَالَمِ عَيْنٌ وَأَثَرْ 3

وَلَهُ أَبْدَعَ مَاتَعْقِلُهُ مِنْ عُقُولٍ وَنُفُوسٍ وَصُوَرْ 4

فَلَكٌ فِي فَلَكٍ فِيهِ نُجُومٌ صَدَفٌ فِي صَدَفٍ فِيهِ دُرَرْ 5

جِنْسُ الأَجْنَاسِ عَلِيٌّ وَبَنُوهُ نَوْعُ الأَنْوَاعِ إِلَى الحَادِي عَشَرْ 6

كُلُّ مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْهُمْ مَوْتُهُ مَوْتُ حِمَارٍ وَبَقَرْ 7

لَيْسَ مَنْ أَذْنَبَ يَوْماً يَا إِمَامْ كَيْفَ مَنْ أَشْرَكَ دَهْراً وَكَفَرْ 8

قَوْسُهُ قَوْسُ نُزُولٍ وَعُرُوجْ سَهْمُهُ سَهْمُ قَضَاءٍ وَقَدَرْ 9

أَيُّهَا الخَصْمُ تَذَكَّرْ سَنَداً مَتْنُهُ صَحَّ بِنَصٍّ وَخَبَرْ 10

إِذْ أَتَى أَحْمَدُ فِي خُمِّ غَدِيرْ بِعَلِيٍّ وَعَلَى الرَّحْلِ نَبَرْ 11

قَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ أَنَا مَوْلاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ لَهُ مَوْلًى وَمَفَرْ 12

أَسَدُ اللهِ إِذَا صَالَ وَصَاحْ أَبُو الأَيْتَامِ إِذَا جَادَ وَبَرْ 13

حُبُّهُ مَبْدَأُ خُلْدٍ وَنَعِيمْ بُغْضُهُ مَنْشَأُ نَارٍ وَسَقَرْ 14

مَنْ لَهُ صَاحِبَةٌ كَالزَّهْرَاءْ وَسَلِيلٌ كَشَبِيرٍ وَشَبَرْ 15

16 عَنْهُ دِيانُ عُلُومٍ وَحِكَمْ فِيهِ طُومارُ عِظاتٍ وَعِبَرْ

17 بُوتُرابٍ وَكَنوزُ الْعالَمْ عِنْدَ نَحْوُ تُرابٍ وَمَدَرْ

18 ظَلَّ مَا عَاشَ بِجُوعٍ وَصِيامْ بِزاتِ مَاحَى بِدَمْعٍ وَسَهَرْ

19 كُلَّمَا أَحْزَنَهُ الدَّهْرُ سَلَا أَيْمَا اسْتَضْعَفَهُ الْيَوْمَ صَبَرْ

20[56] نَاقَةَ اللهِ فِيا شُقْوَةَ مَنْ مَارَ عَاهَا فَتَعاطَى ضَقَرْ

1. Oh, Ali is a man, but what kind of person is he?
Within him is his Lord, though the man is but Ali!

2. He's not that Creator, but an instance of God,
For within him, like a jewel in a rock, is God.

3. The truth of genesis sprouted just for Ali;
Guardian was he, and a true sign of God.

4. Whatever you meditate upon—let's say *jinn*, man,
Or any thing—without a doubt, it was created for Ali.

5. He's a firmament within a firmament full of stars;
Like a pearl within the Mother Pearl is Ali.

6. Sure foundation is he; his sons are limbs of the father,
Up to the last one, the existing, the eleventh son of Ali.

7. He who dies but never knows those innocents,
His death is as the death of a donkey dying in a valley.

8. One cannot be an imam who commits a day of sin;
So how can one who ever sins be an imam and ally?

9. His bow flies high, so downcome is a bow
Whose arrow shoots away, a calamity, and known misery.

10. O opponent, present your proof, if it is like
The words of the Prophet, and the words of God.

11. He whom Ahmad presented in Ghadīr Khumm as caliph
Was his own cousin, the righteous and most sincere Ali.

12. Whomever I am master to, let him know that presently
His master, and that of all, is my beloved, this Ali.

13. On battlefield, in his anger, he appears as a lion to Him;

For an orphan he is father, the kind and most generous Ali.

14. His love is the main source of Heaven,
Hell is there by the wrath and sharp anger of Ali.

15. Who on earth can have such a wife as his?
And sons such as Husayn and Hasan, except Ali?

16. The Book of Truth, Knowledge, and Wisdom, and all
Sermons, guidance, teachings, and warnings are from Ali.

17. Yet he was called the Son of Dust, dwelling on sand,
And the riches of the universe were nothing in his sight.

18. He led his life in hunger, prayer, forever fasting;
Sat awake in the middle of the night, weeping hard, this Ali.

19. When this evil world saddened him, he remained in silence;
When the world subdued him, he tolerated it, this Ali.

20. Like the she-camel was he to God; then, O, you the wretched,
Mistreated you not the camel, but mistreated Ali!

The Poems of Abū Bakr Ibn Quray'ī on the Trials of the Master of the Martyrs on the Day of Saqīfa

And how meaningfully has Abū Bakr Quray'ī composed certain elegies unveiling the secrets and treachery of the caliphs and their consequences, by showing that if they had not stood against the blameless Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the arrow of Hamale would not have touched Ali Aṣghar on the Day of Āshūrā! Ali Ibn 'Īsā Irbilī has put the following fine elegy in his book:[57]

1 يامَن يسائِلُ دائِباً عَنْ كلِّ مُعْضَلَةٍ سَخيفَة لا تَكْشِفَنَّ مُغَطّياً فَلَرُبَّما كَشَفَتْ جيفَة

2 وَلَرُبَّ مَستُورٍ بَدَا كاطّبلُ مِن تَحْتِ القَطيفَة إنَّ الجَوابَ لَحاضِرٌ لَكِنَّني أُخفيهِ خيفَة

3 لَوْلَا اعْتِداءُ رَعِيةٍ أَلْقى سِياسَتَها الخَليفَة وَسُيوفُ أَعْداءٍ بِها هَامَاتِنَا أَبْدَا تَقيفَة

4 لَنَشَرْتُ مِنْ أَسْرارِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ جُمَلاً طَريفَة تُنْبيكُمُ عَمَّا رَوَاهُ مَالِكٌ وَأَبُو حَنيفَة

5 وَأُرِيكُمُ أَنَّ الحُسَيْنَ اصيبَ فِي يَومِ السَّقيفَة وَلأَيِّ حَالٍ لُحِدَتْ بِاللَّيلِ فَاطِمَةُ الشَّريفَة

6 وَلِمَا حَمَتْ شَيْخَيْكُمُ عَنْ وَطْيِ حُجْرَتِهَا السُّيوفَة أَوْهَى لِبَيْتِ مُحَمَّدٍ مَاتَتْ بِغَصَّتِهَا أَسيفَة [58]

1. O you who always present tiring and complicated problems, try not to unveil this hidden secret, for if you do so, then you unveil old, rotten carrion!
2. How often a thing is veiled, just like the sound of a drum covered with cloth, so that only the covering is seen. In fact, the answer to your question is with me; however, I fear to reveal it.
3. If there were no aggression to the peasant under the control of the caliph, and if there weren't swords unsheathed above us,
4. I would surely reveal some secrets about the offspring of Muhammad: things that would wipe out whatever Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa have said to you so far.
5. And I would show you clearly that Husayn was cut to pieces with swords on the Day of Saqīfa. For what reason did they bury Fāṭimah in the pitch darkness of that night?
6. And for what reason did Fāṭimah deter those two shaykhs of yours [Abū Bakr and Omar] from entering her lofty room to visit her? Alas, for the daughter of Muhammad passed away in sorrow!

It is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ Būkhārī* that Ali buried Fāṭimah in the middle of the night, and performed the last prayer over her body without letting Abū Bakr know about it.[59]

And Alī Ibn Burhān al-Dīn Husayn Shāfiʿī says:

وَقَالَ الْوَاقِدِي: وَثَبَتَ عِنْدَنَا أَنَّ عَلِيًا كَرَّمَ اللهُ وَجْهَهُ دَفَنَهَا رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهَا لَيْلًا وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهَا وَمَعَهُ الْعَبَّاسُ وَالْفَضْلُ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمْ وَلَمْ يَعْلَمُوا بِهَا أَحَدًا.[60]

"Wāqidī said: 'It has become clear to us that Ali buried Fāṭimah at midnight, and he himself prayed over her body. ʿAbbās and his son Faḍl, May God be pleased with them, were also with Ali, but they did not invite anyone to Fāṭimah's burial.'"

And in his *Rijāl*, Shaykh Ḥurr Āmulī quotes Zurārah, from his father Abū Jaʿfar, from his grandfather, saying that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said:

ضَاقَتِ الْأَرْضُ بِسَبْعَةٍ بِهِمْ تُرْزَقُونَ وَبِهِمْ تُنْصَرُونَ وَبِهِمْ تُمْطَرُونَ؛ مِنْهُمْ سَلْمَانُ وَالْمِقْدَادُ وَأَبُو ذَرٍّ وَعَمَّارٌ وَحُذَيْفَةُ رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَنَا إِمَامُهُمْ وَهُمُ الَّذِينَ صَلَّوْا عَلَى فَاطِمَةَ.[61]

"There are seven great, majestic people whom the earth is too weak to be capable of accepting, because of whom the earth brings forth nourishment for you, gives assistance, and brings rain upon you! They are Salmān, Miqdād, Abīdhar, ʿAmmār, and Ḥudhayfah", may God bless them all, who prayed over the body of Fāṭimah."

Lessons One Hundred Ten to One Hundred Fifteen

Putting Oneself Forward against the Command: Alteration of the Commands of God and His Prophet Is a Sign of Corruption

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TEN TO ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may Allah's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تُقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ
يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَرْفَعُوا أَصْوَاتَكُمْ فَوْقَ صَوْتِ النَّبِيِّ وَلَا تَجْهَرُوا لَهُ بِالْقَوْلِ كَجَهْرِ بَعْضِكُمْ لِبَعْضٍ أَنْ تَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالُكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ

O you who believe! Be not forward before God and His Messenger; but fear God, for God is Hearer, Knower. O you who believe! Raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor speak loudly to him, as you may speak loudly to one another, lest your deeds become vain while you perceive not (49:1–2).

Logically, the nature, wisdom, and religion of man dictate that he should not interfere with anything other than his own affairs. The three powers—the senses, wisdom, and religion—all indicate that pursuing anything beyond one's own responsibilities is wrong and causes corruption.

An imam must therefore be assigned. In other words, trusting the spiritual well-being of a society to a man with devilish thoughts and ideas that follow his passions and worldly pleasure is absolutely irrational. This is because according the logic of the Qur'an, reference must always be made to the truth, and choices made accordingly. Thus, the choice of an imam on the basis of consensus and passion can be neither right nor reliable. If the common people choose an imam, and his virtues and errors are decided upon by the people, then, in truth, it is the people who are the imam, and not the one they have chosen. Thereby the deeds of the ancients become void and irrelevant. In fact, their thoughts about a desirable leader become insignificant, because it is only the opinion of the common people, and not those of a chosen leader—whereas we know that the imamate is not separate from the guardianship, and politics is always related to the spiritual according to the divine laws.

The Elegies of Ibn Ḥammād ᶜAbdī on How There Is No Choice in the Election of the Imam

Ibn Ḥammād ᶜAbdī, the poet of the Household, has written beautifully about this in his poems, where he says:

وَقَالُوا رَسُولُ اللهِ مَا اخْتَارَ بَعْدَهُ إِمَامًا وَلَكِنَّا لِأَنْفُسِنَا اخْتَرْنَا 1

أَقِمْنَا إِمَامًا إِنْ أَقَامَ عَلَى الْهُدَى أَطَعْنَاهُ وَإِنْ ضَلَّ الْهِدَايَةَ قَوَّمْنَا 2

فَقُلْنَا إِذَنْ أَنْتُمْ إِمَامُ إِمَامِكُمْ بِحَمْدٍ مِنَ الرَّحْمَنِ تَهْتَمُّ وَلَا تَهْنَا 3

وَلَكِنَّنَا اخْتَرْنَا الَّذِي اخْتَارَ رَبُّنَا لَنَا يَوْمَ خُمٍّ مَا اعْتَدَيْنَا وَلَا حِلْنَا 4

سَيَجْمَعُنَا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ رَبُّنَا فَتُجْزَوْنَ مَا قُلْتُمْ وَنُجْزَى الَّذِي قُلْنَا 5

هَدَمْتُمْ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ قَوَاعِدَ دِينِكُمْ وَدِينٌ عَلَى غَيْرِ الْقَوَاعِدِ لَا يَبْنَى 6

وَنَحْنُ عَلَى نُورٍ مِنَ اللهِ وَاضِحٍ فَيَا رَبِّ زِدْنَا مِنْكَ نُورًا وَثَبِّتْنَا.[62] 7

1. And they [our opponents] say: "The Messenger of God did not choose an imam after him, but we are choosing one for ourselves.
2. "We assign an imam and a leader, and establish him; then if he leads the people to righteousness, we will obey him, but if he is lost, then we will guide him to find his way!"
3. So, we are telling them: "In that case, you are the imam of your own imam, who leads you blindly to wander; but we never lose the way, and never do we perish.
4. "For we picked one whom the Creator chose on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm—we did not trespass against this, nor did we deceive or play a trick!
5. "On the Day of Resurrection, our Creator will bring you and us together, and He will reward you according to your words and intentions, and so will He reward us according to our words and intentions.
6. "You ruined the foundation and pillar of your religion with your own hands; and never can a religion stand without a pillar.
7. "And we are guided by a Light, a clear and bright Light from God; so, O Creator, increase this Light upon us, and make our steps firm to walk on this path!"

Before composing these lines of the poem, Ibn Shahr revealed a discussion between Abū al-Hasan Wafā and Ibn Rāmīn, the jurisprudent, in which Abū al-Hasan said to Rāmīn: "When the Prophet left the town of Medina, he did not assign anyone to the people to oversee their affairs."

To this, Ibn Rāmīn said: "How so? He assigned Ali as such in Medina."

Abū al-Hasan replied:

> Then how was it that he did not inform the townspeople?
>
> اخْتَارُوا فَإِنَّكُمْ لَا تَجْتَمِعُونَ عَلَى الضَّلَالِ.
>
> "In my absence, choose one as a leader for your daily affairs; otherwise you cannot maintain harmony amidst perdition."

Ibn Rāmīn said: "The Prophet was worried that if he had left the people on their own, they would differ in their choice of a second-in-command, and then they would face corruption."

Then Abū al-Hasan said: "If such sedition and differences had happened, then the Prophet would have solved the problem after his return to Medina."

Ibn Rāmīn said: "That which the Prophet assigns himself is much better than that which others assign."

Abū al-Hasan asked: "Did the Prophet choose someone to be caliph after his demise?"

And Ibn Rāmīn said: "No."

Abū al-Hasan said: "But his demise is a more serious matter than his journey! So how was it that he was quite confident about his nation after his demise, while he was not so confident on his journey, even though he was still alive and the situation was in his hands?"

Then, the poet ᶜAbdī cut their conversation with the words

وَقَالُوا رَسُولُ اللهِ مَا اخْتَارَ بَعْدَهُ إِمَامًا وَلَكِنَّا لِأَنْفُسِنَا اخْتَرْنَا.[63]

"And he said: 'The Messenger of God did not choose anyone for the imamate after him; however, we are choosing one for ourselves.'"

In the *Rayḥānat al-Adab*, Sufyān Ibn Muṣᶜab has related six lines of this poem of ᶜAbdī's from the *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*.[64]

However, in *al-Ghadīr*, ᶜAbdī's poem is connected to Ali Ibn Ḥammād Ibn ᶜAbdullāh Baṣrī, where it says: "We have recently come across an important ancient collection of manuscripts wherein there is an elegy from Ibn Ḥammād ᶜAbdī." Ibn Shahr Āshūb explained a part of it, and related it to ᶜAbdī, Sufyān Ibn Muṣᶜab, and Bayāḍī in the *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*, which follows Ibn Shahr Āshūb. However, the poem was from Ibn Ḥammād, who wrote all 106 lines of it. This elegy is one of the best in praise of Ali, and the first line is

أَسَائِلُنِي عَمَّا لَاقِي مِنَ الْأَسَا سَلِي اللَّيْلَ عَنِّي هَلْ أَجَنَّ إِذَا جَنَّا.

"O you who ask of the painful calamity that befell me! Ask me of the night when it took place, and enclosed the world within darkness, and I did lose my senses!"

And lines 55–59 are as follows:

وَلَوْ فُضَّ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ مِعْشَارُ جُودِهِ لَمَا عَرَفُوا فِي النَّاسِ بُخْلًا وَلَا ضَنًّا 1

وَكُلُّ جَوَادٍ جَادَ بِالْمَالِ إِنَّمَا فَصَارَاهُ أَنْ يَسْتَنَّ فِي الْجُودِ مَاسَنًّا 2

وَكُلُّ مَدِيحٍ قُلْتُ أَوْ قَالَ قَائِلٌ فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِهِ يَعْنَى 3

سَيَخْسَرُ مَنْ لَمْ يَعْتَصِمْ بِوَلَائِهِ وَيَقْرَعُ يَوْمَ الْبَعْثِ مِنْ نَدَمٍ سِنًّا 4

لِذَلِكَ قَدْ وَالَيْتُهُ مُخْلِصَ الْوَلَا وَكُنْتُ عَلَى الْأَحْوَالِ عَبْدًا لَهُ قِنًّا. 5

1. If they took a tenth of his generosity and forgiveness, and divided it throughout the whole nation, there would remain no greed or grudge among the people!
2. And any generous and forgiving man who works kindness, finally he wins, for he has followed the best course and tradition.
3. And whatever elegy I compose, or any other panegyrist maker, praise goes to the Master of the Faithful, no matter who the main subject may be.
4. Whoever does not cling to his guardianship, he will face loss and misery in the future; and on the Day of Resurrection he will regret it, and bite his finger in anger.
5. So it is why I am under his guardianship, the pure and sincere guardianship, free from doubt; it is because of that guardianship that I am reduced to slavehood.

As we already mentioned, he then continues the elegy up to lines 86 to 91.[65]

Ibn Shahr Āshūb on Extolling the Virtues of the Two Shaykhs

In his *al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb narrates a story taken from the hadiths and elegies concerning the two Shaykhs' confession to Ali's guardianship, which finally leads them to a disagreement.

It is said that there are hadiths in the *Fāḍil* of Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Abī Bakr Ibn Mālik, Ibāna Ibn Baṭṭah, and the *Kashf* of Thaʿlabī quoting Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib as saying:

> We, along with the Messenger of God, were returning from the Ḥajjat al-Widāʾ, and when we arrived at the territory of Ghadīr Khumm, *al-ṣalāt*

al-jāmiᶜa was proclaimed.[66] The Prophet had the ground beneath two trees cleaned, and then held Ali by the hand, saying:

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، قَالَ: أَوَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى مِنْ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بِنَفْسِهِ؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى، قَالَ: هَذَا مَوْلَى مَنْ أَنَا مَوْلَاهُ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ، فَقَالَ: فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Do I not prevail over the believers above themselves?" and they answered: "Yes, you do, O Messenger of God." He then asked: "Do I not prevail over every single believer above himself?" and again they answered: "Yes, you do." Then he said: "This is the master of whom I am master. O God, offer friendship to him who is his friend, and oppose the one who is his enemy." Then Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb approached, saying: "Well done, O Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib! I congratulate you on being my master and the master of every believing man and woman."

Abū Saᶜīd Khudrī has narrated in a separate hadith:

ثُمَّ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: يَا قَوْمِ هَنِّئُونِي، هَنَّئُونِي، إِنَّ اللهَ تَعَالَى خَصَّنِي بِالنُّبُوَّةِ، وَخَصَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِي بِالْإِمَامَةِ. فَلَقِيَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ: طُوبَى لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

Then the Prophet said: "O my people, congratulate and pass on good wishes to me! Indeed, God, the Most High, has chosen me as a prophet and my Household for the imamate." Later on, when Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb saw Ali, he told him: "O Abū al-Hasan, congratulations! You passed [that dangerous] night, and now you are my master and the master of every believing man and woman."

Khargushī has also related in the *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā* from Barāʾ Ibn ᶜĀzib that the Prophet stated:

اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ، فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"O God, be the friend of him who is his friend, and be the enemy of him who is his enemy." Then Omar approached him, saying: "Well done, O Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib! I congratulate you on being the master of every believing man and woman."

Abū Bakr Bāqlānī also mentions this in his *Tamhīd*, with some additional comments.

In the *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, Samᶜānī quotes Sālim Ibn Abī Jaᶜd through his chains stating that someone said to Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb:

أَنَّكَ تَصْنَعُ بِعَلِيٍّ شَيْئًا لَا تَصْنَعُهُ بِأَحَدٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ؟
قَالَ: إِنَّهُ مَوْلَايَ.

"You treat Ali like you have not done with any of the companions of the Prophet." And Omar said: "For indeed he is my master."

The Poems of Sayyid Ḥimyarī on Extolling the Two Shaykhs

Sayyid Ḥimyarī wrote:

وَقَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ بِغَدِيرِ خُمٍّ عَنِ الرَّحْمَنِ يَنْطِقُ بِاعْتِزَامِ 1
يَصِيحُ وَقَدْ أَشَارَ إِلَيْهِ فِيكُمْ إِشَارَةَ غَيْرِ مَصْغٍ لِلْكَلَامِ 2
أَلَا مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا أَخِي مَوْلَاهُ فَاسْتَمِعُوا كَلَامِي 3
فَقَامَ الشَّيْخُ يَشْدُخُهُمْ إِلَيْهِ وَقَدْ حَصَدَتْ يَدَاهُ مَنَ الزِّحَامِ 4
يُنَادِي: أَنْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى الْأَنَامِ فَلِمْ عَصَى مَوْلَى الْأَنَامِ.[67] 5

1. And on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, on behalf of al-Raḥmān [i.e., God], Muhammad called out [to the crowd] vigorously;
2. He was shouting, pointing to you, the gathering, in determination; and he did not cut his speech short, but said what he had to say:
3. "Be aware that whomsoever I am master of, so is this brother of mine his master. So listen to what I say!"
4. So the Shaykh stood up, and was the first to swear allegiance and celebrate, while he was pressed amongst the dense crowd.
5. He cried out: "You are my guardian, and the guardian of all!" So why did he oppose the master of all?

1. And Muhammad, at Ghadīr Khumm, confidently announced from al-Raḥmān;
2. He was shouting, and amongst you, the crowd, he was pointing directly at him; and he drew out his words by uttering in verity:
3. "Be aware that whomsoever I am master of, so is this brother of mine his master; hence, listen to what I say."
4. Then the Shaykh stood up, and was the first to congratulate him, though his arms were pressed to his sides amongst the people;
5. He was crying: "You are my master, and you are the master of all others!" So why did he oppose the master of all people?

Ḥimyarī also wrote:

1 قُلْتُ: أَخَذْتُ عَهْدَكُمْ عَلَى ذَا فَكُونُوا لِلْوَصِيِّ مُسَاعِدِينَا
2 لَقَدْ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَانَا جَمِيعاً وَلَسْنَا عَنْ وَلَائِكَ رَاغِبِينَا.[68]

So you [ᶜĀyisha] said: "I took the covenant of the guardianship of Ali, to stand as the successor of the Prophet."
And you said: "O Ali, you passed the night, and now you are indeed our master, and we will not reject your guardianship."

Ḥimyarī also wrote:

1 قَامَ النَّبِيُّ يَوْمَ خُمٍّ خَاطِباً بِجَانِبِ الدَّوْحَاتِ أَوْ حِيَالِهَا
2 قَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ لَهُ مَوْلًى فَذَا مَوْلَاهُ رَبِّ اشْهَدْ مِرَاراً قَالَهَا
3 إِنَّ رِجَالًا بَايَعَتْهُ إِنَّمَا بَايَعَتِ اللهَ فَمَا بَدَالَهَا
4 قَالُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا أَجْمَعَا وَأَسْرَعُوا بِالْأَلْسُنِ اشْتِقَالَهَا[69]
5 وَجَاءَهُمْ مَشِيخَةٌ يَقْدُمُهُمْ شَيْخٌ يَهَنِّي حَبَّذَا مَنَالُهَا
6 قَالَ لَهُ: بَخٍ بَخٍ مَنْ مِثْلُكَ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَالَهَا.[70]

1. On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, the Prophet stood by the trees and instructed the people,
2. Said he: "Whomsoever I am master of, so is this (Ali) his master!" and then he repeated: "O God, You stand witness to what I say."
3. Indeed those who swore allegiance, they swore allegiance with God, and there is no fault in their allegiance.
4. They said: "We all heard (what you said), and accepted it," and they made haste to pay allegiance in words and in deeds.
5. Some shaykhs approached, following another shaykh, saying: "How wonderful this guardianship is!"
6. That shaykh said to Ali: "Well done; well done! No one is like you; you passed the night and now are the master of all believers. What a blessing and benefit your guardianship is!"

ᶜAunī writes:

1 حَتَّى لَقَدْ قَالَ ابْنُ خَطَّابٍ لَهُ لَا تَقَوَّضْ مِنْ هُنَاكَ وَقَامَا
2 أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مَنْ صَلَّى لِرَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَصَامَا.[71]

1. Moreover, when Ali's status was changed, the son of Khaṭṭāb stood up and said:
2. "You left the night behind, and now you are my master, and the master of everyone who prays to God and fasts."

ʿAunī also wrote:

تَادَى وَلَمْ يَكُ كَاذِبًا بِخٍ بِخٍ لَكَ يَا أَبَا حَسَنٍ تُرَبِّعُ الشَّيْبَ وَالشُّبَّانِ 1
أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ جَمَاعَةً مَوْلَى إِنَاثِهِمْ مَعَ الذُّكْرَانِ. 2

1. Omar addressed Ali—and he did not lie—saying: "Well done, well done, O Abī al-Hasan! You are now the cause of growth for both the young and the old.
2. "You left the night behind, and now you are the master of all the believers. You are the master of the women and the men."

And Khaṭīb Manīḥ says:

وَقَالَ لَهُمْ: رَضِيتُمْ بِي وَلِيًا فَقَالُوا: يَا مُحَمَّدُ قَدْ رَضِينَا 1
فَقَالَ: وَلِيُّكُمْ بَعْدِي عَلِيٌّ وَمَوْلَاكُمْ فَكُونُوا عَارِفِينَا 2
فَقَالَ لِقَوْلِهِ عُمَرُ سَرِيعًا وَقَالَ لَهُ مَقَالَ الْوَاصِفِينَا 3
هَنِيئًا يَا عَلِيُّ أَنْتَ مَوْلَى عَلَيْنَا مَا بَقِيتَ وَمَا بَقِينَا. 4

1. And [the Prophet] said to those [folk]: "Are you pleased with my being your guardian?" They answered: "Yes, O Muhammad, we are."
2. [The Prophet] said: "So, after my demise, your guardian and master is Ali, and you must know this well!"
3. Then, after the Prophet's instruction, as if he were going to confirm his words, Omar immediately said:
4. "O Ali! Congratulations to you! You are going to be our master as long as you and we are alive!"

In a separate narrative, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Ammār has related that Imam Ṣādiq said:

لَمَّا قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، قَالَ الْعَدَوِيُّ: لَا وَاللهِ مَا أَمَرَهُ بِهَذَا، وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا شَيْءٌ يَتَقَوَّلُهُ، فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ تَعَالَى:
وَلَوْ تَقَوَّلَ عَلَيْنَا بَعْضَ الْأَقَاوِيلِ لَأَخَذْنَا مِنْهُ بِالْيَمِينِ

ثُمَّ لَقَطَعْنَا مِنْهُ الْوَتِينَ
فَمَا مِنكُم مِّنْ أَحَدٍ عَنْهُ حَاجِزِينَ
وَإِنَّهُ لَتَذْكِرَةٌ لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ
وَإِنَّا لَنَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مِنكُم مُّكَذِّبِينَ
وَإِنَّهُ لَحَسْرَةٌ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ يعنى محمدا وَإِنَّهُ لَحَقُّ الْيَقِينِ يعنى به عليا.

When the Prophet said: "Whomsoever I am a master of, so is Ali his master," that man of the tribe of ʿAdī said: "It is not so. I swear by God that God has not commanded this to be so; this is what the Prophet has invented and attributed to God."

At that very moment, God revealed these verses:

And if he had invented false sayings concerning Us,
We would have surely seized him by the right hand
And then cut off the artery of his heart,
And not one of you could have held Us from him.
But verily this is a Message for the God-fearing, And We certainly know that some among you will deny (it).
But truly, it is an anguish for the disbelievers.
But verily it is the truth of certainty. (69:44–51)

Hasan Jammāl has quoted Imam Ṣādiq as saying:

فَلَمَّا رَأَوْهُ رَافِعاً يَدَيْهِ يَعْنِي رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: انْظُرُوا إِلَى عَيْنَيْهِ تَدُورَانِ كَأَنَّهُمَا عَيْنَا مَجْنُونٍ. فَنَزَلَ جَبْرَئِيلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِهَذِهِ الْآيَةِ:
وَإِنْ يَكَادُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَيُزْلِقُونَكَ بِأَبْصَارِهِمْ لَمَّا سَمِعُوا الذِّكْرَ وَيَقُولُونَ إِنَّهُ لَمَجْنُونٌ، وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا ذِكْرٌ لِلْعَالَمِينَ.

When they saw the Prophet raising his hands, some of them said: "Look at him; see how his eyes are rolling. They look like the eyes of a madman!" At that very moment, Gabriel descended with this verse:

And indeed, those who disbelieve would almost trip you up with their eyes when they hear the Message, and they say: Surely he is mad; but it is naught but a Reminder to creation. (68:51–52)

And Sayyid Ḥimyarī wrote:

قَالَ: أَلَا مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ مِنْكُمْ فَمَوْلَاهُ مِنْ بَعْدِي عَلِيٌّ فَأْذَعِنُوا 1

قَالَ شَقِيٌّ مِنْهُمْ لِقَرِينِهِ وَكَمْ مِنْ شَقِيٍّ يَسْتَزِلُّ وَيُفْتَنُ 2

يَمُدُّ بِضَبْعَيْهِ عَلِيًّا وَإِنَّهُ لِمَا بِالَّذِي لَمْ يُوحَ مِنْهُ لَمُزْمِنُ 3

كَأَنَّ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي قَلْبِهِ ثِقَةٌ بِهِ فَيَا عَجَبًا أَنَّى وَمِنْ أَيْنَ يُوقِنُ. 4

1. Then the Prophet said: "Be aware that whomsoever I am master of, so is Ali his master after me; thus, acknowledge this!"
2. Among the crowd, a wretched man said to the fellow next to him—like so many of those involved in sedition:
3. "He has lifted Ali in his arms and tries to demonstrate that which has not been revealed to him!"
4. This wretched man had no confidence in the Prophet; it is strange: How could he be certain?

Sayyid Murtaḍā has written in his *Tanzīh*:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ لَمَّا نَصَّ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِالْإِمَامَةِ فِي ابْتِدَاءِ الْأَمْرِ جَاءَهُ قَوْمٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ قَالُوا لَهُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، إِنَّ النَّاسَ قَرِيبُو عَهْدٍ بِالْإِسْلَامِ وَلَا يَرْضَوْا أَنْ تَكُونَ النُّبُوَّةُ فِيكَ وَالْإِمَامَةُ فِي ابْنِ عَمِّكَ، فَلَوْ عَدَلْتَ بِهَا إِلَى حِينٍ لَكَانَ أَوْلَى

قَالَ لَهُمُ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: مَا فَعَلْتُ ذَلِكَ بِرَأْيِي فَأُخَيِّرَ فِيهِ، وَلَكِنَّ اللهَ أَمَرَنِي بِهِ وَفَرَضَهُ عَلَيَّ، قَالُوا لَهُ: فَإِذَا لَمْ تَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مَخَافَةَ الْخِلَافِ عَلَى رَبِّكَ فَأَشْرِكْ مَعَهُ فِي الْخِلَافَةِ رَجُلًا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ يَسْكُنُ إِلَيْهِ النَّاسُ، لِيَتِمَّ الْأَمْرُ وَلَا يُخَالَفَ عَلَيْكَ، فَنَزَلَ: لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ.

When the Prophet first explained the guardianship of Imam Ali, a group from the tribe of the Quraysh approached him and said: "O Messenger of God, it is not so long since the people left their ignorant beliefs and embraced Islam, so it is not pleasing to them to witness your prophethood and then the guardianship of your cousin. Therefore, it is better if you dispense with Ali's guardianship for a while."

The Prophet said: "I have not done this on my own account in order to have the authority to change it, but God has commanded me to do so, and has made it incumbent upon me."

They said: "So, if you are afraid of contesting the Creator, are you not going to assign a man from the Quraysh to be a partner with Ali to settle the dispute among the people?"

Soon after, this verse was revealed:

لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ.

If you were to ascribe a partner to God, your work will fail, and you will indeed be among the losers (39:65).

ᶜAbd al-Azīz Ḥassānī relates in a hadith from Imam Ṣādiq:

قَالَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ بَنِي عَدِيٍّ: اجْتَمَعْتُ إِلَى قُرَيْشٍ فَأَتَيْنَا النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ فَقَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ: إِنَّا كُنَّا تَرَكْنَا عِبَادَةَ الْأَوْثَانِ وَاتَّبَعْنَاكَ فَأَشْرِكْنَا فِي وَلَايَةِ عَلِيٍّ فَنَكُونَ شُرَكَاءَ. فَهَبَطَ جَبْرَئِيلُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ فَقَالَ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ.

A man from the tribe of ᶜAdī said: "A group of the Quraysh came to me and together we went to the Prophet. They said: "O Messenger of God, we used to worship the idols; then we left them and became your followers. Now make us partners in Ali's imamate." At that moment, Gabriel came down with this verse:

لَئِنْ أَشْرَكْتَ لَيَحْبَطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ وَلَتَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ.

...If you ascribe a partner to God, your work will fail and you indeed will be among the losers (39:65).

Then the man from the tribe of Abū ᶜAdī said:

> I became furious and left the meeting in haste. On the way I came across a man riding on a crimson-like horse; he was wearing a yellow turban on his head, and he smelt of the delicate odor of musk. On noticing me he said:
>
> > O man!
> >
> > لَقَدْ عَقَدَ مُحَمَّدٌ عَقْدًا لَا يَحُلُّهَا إِلَّا كَافِرٌ أَوْ مُنَافِقٌ.
> >
> > Muhammad has certainly made a covenant that no one can ignore except a disbeliever or a hypocrite.
>
> I went back to the Prophet and informed him of this event, and he said: "Do you know who the man on the horse was? He was Gabriel, and he wanted you to know the covenant of the guardianship, and to tell you that if you break that covenant or doubt it, he will become your enemy on the Day of Resurrection."

Sayyid Ḥimyarī wrote:

وَقَامَ مُحَمَّدُ بِغَدِيرِ خُمٍّ فَنَادَى مُعْلِناً صَوْتاً بَدِيًّا 1
أَلَا مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا لَهُ مَوْلًى وَكَانَ بِهِ حَفِيًّا 2
إِلَهِي عَادِ مَنْ عَادَ عَلِيّاً وَكُنْ لِوَلِيِّهِ مَوْلًى وَلِيّاً 3
فَقَالَ مُخَالِفٌ مِنْهُمْ عُتُلٌّ لِإِولَاهُمْ بِهِ قَوْلًا خَفِيّاً 4
لَعَمْرُ أَبِيكَ لَوْ يَسْطِعْ هَذَا لَصَيَّرَ بَعْدَهُ هَذَا نَبِيًّا 5
فَنَحْنُ بِسُوءِ رَأْيِهِمَا نُعَادِي بَنِي تَيْمٍ وَلَا نَهْوَى عَدِيًّا[72] 6

1. And on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, Muhammad stood up and clearly called the people to him, [saying]:
2. "Be aware that whosoever I am master of, so is this man his master, and he is well aware of his circumstance.
3. "O my Creator! Oppose him who is his enemy, and be the Protector and Helper of him who is the friend of Ali."
4. Then a man amongst the crowd, who was clearly unfriendly and aggressive, whispered to his close friend:
5. "I swear by your father that if Muhammad could manage it, he would choose Ali as a prophet after him."
6. And due to the malevolence of those two men, we are enemies of Banī Taim, and we have no inclination toward Banī ʿAdī.

There is a hadith concerning this event from Imam Bāqir saying:

At that moment, the son of Hind stood up in anger, and while he was guarded by ʿAbdullāh Ibn Qays Ashʿarī on his right, and Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah on his left, he said:

وَاللهِ لَا نُصَدِّقُ مُحَمَّداً عَلَى مَقَالَتِهِ وَلَا نُقِرُّ عَلِيّاً بِوَلَايَتِهِ فَنَزَلَ: "فَلَا صَدَّقَ وَلَا صَلَّى، وَلَكِنْ كَذَّبَ وَتَوَلَّى، ثُمَّ ذَهَبَ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ يَتَمَطَّى، أَوْلَى لَكَ فَأَوْلَى، ثُمَّ أَوْلَى لَكَ فَأَوْلَى

"By God, we will not accept what Muhammad says, nor do we take Ali as the guardian."

Then these verses were revealed: *For he neither trusted, nor prayed. But he denied and turned away. Then went he to his family with conceit. Woe to you, and woe, again nearer to you and nearer (is the doom)* (75:31–35).

At that moment, the Prophet decided to do away with him, and again Gabriel descended, carrying this message with him:

لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِهِ لِسَانَكَ لِتَعْجَلَ بِهِ.

Move not your tongue herewith to hasten it (75:16).

Therefore, the Messenger of God kept quiet and dispensed with the subject.

Concerning the following verse:

قَالَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَرْجُونَ لِقَاءَنَا ائْتِ بِقُرْآنٍ غَيْرِ هَذَا أَوْ بَدِّلْهُ.

...they who look not for meeting Us say: Bring us a reading other than this, or change it (10:15), it is related that the Imam has stated that this refers to the enemies of God who were speaking in the absence of the Prophet. They imagined that he did not hear their words, and said: "If, instead of Ali, Muhammad assigns the guardianship to us, or replaces the verse with another one, it would be much better."

Rejecting that which they said, God declared through the Prophet:

مَا يَكُونُ لِي أَنْ أُبَدِّلَهُ مِنْ تِلْقَاءِ نَفْسِي إِنْ أَتَّبِعُ إِلَّا مَا يُوحَى إِلَيَّ إِنِّي أَخَافُ إِنْ عَصَيْتُ رَبِّي عَذَابَ يَوْمٍ عَظِيمٍ.[73]

It is not for me to change it of my own accord. I only follow that which is inspired in me. Indeed, if I disobey my Lord, I fear the retribution of an awful day (10:15).

In addition, Imam Abū al-Hasan Ibn Jaʿfar has related that the Prophet said that he called the people to bear witness to the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, yet they accused him and left him on his own. Then the following verses were revealed:

قل انی لا املك لكم ضرا ولا نفعا قل انی لن يجيرنی من الله (ان عصيته) احد ولن اجد من دونه ملتحدا الا بلاغا من الله ورسالاته (فی علی) ومن يعص الله ورسوله (فی ولاية علی) فان له نار جهنم خالدين فيها أبدا.[74]

Say (O Muhammad): It is not for me to change it of my own accord... (10:15). And...*none can protect me from God (if I were to disobey him), nor can I find any refuge except in Him. Unless I proclaim what I receive from God and His messages [which refers to Ali]; and whoso disobeys God and His messenger [including the guardianship of Ali], then indeed, for him is the fire of hell, wherein such abide for ever* (72:21–23).

It has been related that Imam Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar commented on these verses of *Surah al-Muzammil*, as in the square brackets:

وَاصْبِرْ عَلَى مَا يَقُولُونَ (فيك) وَاهْجُرْهُمْ هَجْرًا جَمِيلًا وَذَرْنِي وَالْمُكَذِّبِينَ (بوصيك) أُولِي النَّعْمَةِ وَمَهِّلْهُمْ قَلِيلًا.

And bear with patience what they utter, and part with them in noble dignity. Leave Me to deal with the deniers [concerning the guardianship], those of ease and comfort (in this life); and allow them respite for a while (73:10–11).

The Translation of Some Verses of the Qur'an Concerning Imam Ali

It has also been related that some of the Infallibles have commented on the following verses, as in the square brackets:

وَيْلٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ لِلْمُكَذِّبِينَ (يَا مُحَمَّدُ بِمَا أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ مِنْ وَلَايَةِ عَلِيٍّ) أَلَمْ نُهْلِكِ الْأَوَّلِينَ الَّذِينَ كَذَّبُوا الرُّسُلَ فِي (طَاعَةِ الْأَوْصِيَاءِ) كَذَلِكَ نَفْعَلُ بِالْمُجْرِمِينَ (مَنْ أَجْرَمَ إِلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَرَكِبَ مِنْ وَصِيِّهِ مَا رَكِبَ.

Woe unto the deniers on that day! Did We not destroy the men of old (for their evil) [those who denied their Prophets concerning their successors] Then caused the latter folk to follow? Thus do We deal with those who sin [whoever sins against the Household of Muhammad] (77:15–18).

And Imam Ṣādiq thus interprets the following verse:

وَيَسْتَنْبِئُونَكَ أَحَقٌّ هُوَ (ما تقول في علي) قُلْ إِي وَرَبِّي إِنَّهُ لَحَقٌّ وَمَا أَنْتُمْ بِمُعْجِزِينَ.

And they ask you to inform them (saying): Is it true [what you say concerning Ali]? Say: Yes, by my Lord, verily it is true, and you cannot frustrate it (10:53).

ʿAunī says:

أَلَيْسَ قَامَ رَسُولُ اللهِ يَخْطُبُهُمْ يَوْمَ الْغَدِيرِ وَجَمْعُ النَّاسِ مُحْتَفِلُ؟ 1
وَقَالَ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَذَاكَ لَهُ مِنْ بَعْدُ مَوْلًى فَوَاخَاهُ وَمَا فَصَلُوا 2
لَوْ سَلَّمُوهَا إِلَى الْهَادِي أَبِي حَسَنٍ كَفَى الْبَرِيَّةَ لَنْ تَسْتَوْحِشَ السُّبُلُ 3
هَذَا يُطَالِبُهُ بِالضَّعْفِ مُحْتَقِباً وَتِلْكَ يَحْدُوهَا فِي مَحْمِلٍ جُمُلُ.[75] 4

1. Did the Messenger of God not stand up and speak on the Day of Ghadīr, where the people gathered?
2. Did he not say: "Whomsoever I am master of, so is Ali his master after me"? Did he not make a contract of brotherhood with Ali by calling him his brother? Yet there were people who did not obey what the Prophet asked them to do, so he said:
3. "If the guardianship were offered to Ali Abū al-Hasan, he would be sufficient to lead all the people of the world, and they would live in peace, without worry."
4. Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is required to command, but is confined by the lack of helpers and loyal companions. Hence, people

see the guardianship as unimportant and are unappreciative (so they look elsewhere).

Ibn Ḥammād says:

لَا إِنَّ هَذَا وَلِيٌّ لَكُمْ أَطِيعُوا فَوَيْلٌ لِمَنْ لَمْ يُطِعْ[76]

"Be aware that this man is your guardian, so obey him; woe upon him who does not obey him!"

And Ibn Sharh Āshūb has quoted ʿAunī as saying:

يَقُولُ رَسُولُ اللهِ هَذَا الإِمَامِي هُوَ الْيَوْمَ مَوْلَى رَبِّ مَا قُلْتُ فَاسْمَعِ 1
قَامَ جَحُودٌ ذُو شِقَاقٍ مُنَافِقٌ يُنَادِي رَسُولَ اللهِ مِنْ قَلْبٍ مُوجِعِ 2
أَعَنْ رَبِّنَا هَذَا أَمْ أَنْتَ اخْتَرَعْتَهُ فَقَالَ: مَعَاذَ اللهِ لَسْتُ بِمُبْدِعِ 3
عَدُوُّ اللهِ: لَا هُمَّ إِنْ يَكُنْ كَمَا قَالَ حَقًّا فِي عَذَابًا فَأَوْقِعِ 4
فَعُجِّلَ مِنْ أُفُقِ السَّمَاءِ بِكَفْرِهِ بِجَنْدَلَةٍ فَانْكَبَّ فَاوِي بِمَصْرَعِ.[77] 5

1. The Messenger of God did say: "Today, this man Ali is the guardian of my nation; O Creator, bear witness to what I say."
2. Then a man of the hypocrites, who was a man of malice and enmity, addressed the Messenger of God with heart-rending words, saying:
3. "Is this assignment of a guardian from our Creator, or have you yourself invented it?" The Prophet answered: "I take refuge in God, for I am not the originator of it."
4. That enemy of God said: "O my Creator, if that which the Prophet has said is right, send upon me such a chastisement so that the matter becomes clear to me."
5. Because of his disbelief, as a chastisement, God sent a large rock from the heavens down upon his head, and he fell flat and died at once!

And once again, Ibn Sharh Āshūb says that it has been narrated:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ كَانَ يُخْبِرُ عَنْ وَفَاتِهِ بِمَرَّةٍ وَيَقُولُ: قَدْ حَانَ مِنِّي خُفُوقٌ مِنْ بَيْنِ أَظْهُرِكُمْ، وَكَانَتِ الْمُنَافِقُونَ يَقُولُونَ لَئِنْ مَاتَ مُحَمَّدٌ لَيَحْرُبَنَّ دِينَهُ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ مَوْقِفُ الْغَدِيرِ قَالُوا: بَطَلَ كَيْدُنَا. فَنَزَلَتْ:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ.[78]

Somewhat prior to his demise, the Prophet foretold the people of it by saying: "My departure from you is quite near." The hypocrites said: "If

Muhammad passes away, then his religion will collapse." However, when the event of Ghadīr Khumm came to pass, they said: "Our tricks have faded away." It was then that these words were revealed: *This day those who disbelieve are in despair of (dividing) your religion; but fear them not, fear Me. This day have I perfected your religion for you.*

He has also narrated from Boshnawī:

قَالَ كَبِيرُهُمْ مَا الرَّأْيُ فِيمَا تَرَوْنَ يَرُدُّ ذَا الْأَمْرِ الْجَلِي 1
سَمِعْتُمْ قَوْلَهُ قَوْلًا بَلِيغاً وَأَوْصَى بِالْخِلَافَةِ فِي عَلِي 2
قَالُوا حِيلَةٌ سُبِقَتْ عَلَيْنَا وَرَأْيٌ لَيْسَ بِالْعَقْدِ الْوَفِي 3
تُدَبِّرُ غَيْرَ هَذَا فِي أُمُورٍ تَنَالُ بِهَا مِنَ الْعَيْشِ السَّنِي 4
سَنَجْعَلُهَا إِذَا تَمَّتْ شُورَى لِتَبْقَى هُنَالِكَ أَوْ عَدِي 5[79]

1. So the greatest of them said: "What is your opinion on this? As you see, he is rejecting whatever is manifest or hidden!
2. "Did you not hear his clear and direct words about the guardianship of Ali?"
3. The others also said: "This is his personal view that he imposes upon us—an important and durable covenant.
4. "We will pick a way other than this to run our lives, through which we will secure a desirable and lofty life.
5. "If Muhammad passes away, we will leave the guardianship with the council, so that Abū Bakr or Omar have a right to be caliph!"

Ibn Shahr Āshūb also says that it is has been related that when the Prophet brought up the event of Ghadīr Khumm with the people gathered around, a group of the Quraysh came together and shared their disagreement over it. At the same time, a crocodile crept past in front of them, and upon seeing it, some of them said: "We wish Muhammad had chosen this one as guardian, instead of Ali."

Abūdhar Ghifārī heard their words and told the Prophet, who sent someone over to invite them to him. When they were in his presence, he asked them about what they had said. They denied it, and swore by God that they had not uttered such words. At the same time, God sent down this verse:

يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللهِ مَا قَالُوا وَلَقَدْ قَالُوا كَلِمَةَ الْكُفْرِ وَكَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِسْلامِهِمْ وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا وَمَا نَقَمُوا إِلا أَنْ أَغْنَاهُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ فَإِنْ يَتُوبُوا يَكُ خَيْرًا لَهُمْ وَإِنْ يَتَوَلَّوْا يُعَذِّبْهُمُ اللهُ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ وَمَا لَهُمْ فِي الأَرْضِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ وَلا نَصِيرٍ

They swear by God that they said nothing (wrong), but they did say the word of disbelief, and did disbelieve after their acceptance (of God), and have planned what they could not carry out; this revenge of theirs was (their) only return for the bounty with which God and His messenger had enriched them. If they repent, it will be better for them: and if they turn away, God will afflict them with a painful doom in this world and the Hereafter, and they will have no protecting friend nor helper in the earth. (9:74)

Then the Prophet said:

مَا اظَلَّتِ الْخَضْرَاءُ وَمَا اقَلَّتِ الْغَبْرَاءُ عَلَى ذِي لَهْجَةٍ أَصْدَقَ مِنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ.[80]

"The greenish sky does not yet cast a shadow, and the dusty land is ever covered with soil, but Abūdhar is trustworthy and speaks rightly."

Among the hadiths, Abū Baṣīr has related that Imam Ṣādiq said:

إِنَّ النَّبِيَّ (ص) قَالَ: أَتَانِي جَبْرَئِيلُ نَزَلَ عَلَيَّ وَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَّهُ يُؤْتَى يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ بِقَوْمٍ إِمَامُهُمْ ضَبٌّ فَانْظُرُوا أَنْ لَا تَكُونُوا أُولَئِكَ فَإِنَّ اللهَ تَعَالَى يَقُولُ: يَوْمَ نَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ.

The Prophet said that Gabriel descended and told him that on the Day of Resurrection some people will be presented at the Judgment whose leader is a crocodile! So examine your opinions, and try not to be among those people, because God, the Most High, states: *A day approaches, and then We call every party of the people to come with their leader; We call them to Us by their leaders' names.*

Ibn Shahr Āshūb also mentions this elegy of Ibn Ṭūṭī:

1 وَيَوْمَ غَدِيرٍ قَدْ أَقَرُّوا بِفَضْلِهِ وَفِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ مِنْهُمُ الْقَدْ أَضْمَرُوا

2 أَرَى دَوْحَ خُمٍّ وَالنَّبِيَّ مُحَمَّداً يُنَادِي بِأَعْلَى الصَّوْتِ مِنْهُمْ وَيَجْهَرُ

3 أَلَسْتُ إِذَنْ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ نُفُوسِكُمْ. قَالُوا: بَلَى وَالْقَوْمُ فِي الْجَمْعِ حُضَّرُ

4 فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ مِنْكُمُ فَمَوْلَاهُ بَعْدِي حَيْدَرُ الْمُتَكَرِّرُ

5 فَوَالِ مَوَالِيهِ وَعَادِ عَدُوَّهُ أَيَا رَبِّ وَانْصُرْهُ لِمَنْ ظَلَّ يَنْصُرُ

فَلَمَّا مَضَى الْهَادِي لِحَالِ سَبِيلِهِ أَبْدَوْا لَهُ الْغَدْرَ الْقَبِيحَ وَأَظْهَرُوا.[81] 6

1. On the Day of Ghadīr, all confessed the virtue and precedence of Ali; yet they hid their sly and cunning thoughts (concerning him).
2. I plainly see that tree of Ghadīr Khumm, and also Muhammad, the Prophet, preaching clearly (to the crowd), saying:
3. "Am I not closer to you than your own souls?" They answered: "Yes, you are." And among them was the tribe of the Quraysh.
4. Thence the Prophet addressed them so: "Whosoever of you I am master of, then, after me, this—God's chosen *Ḥaydar*—is his master!
5. "O God, gather the friends of Ali under Your protection, and whoever helps Ali, so help him also!"
6. However, as soon as the Prophet, the Leader of the Nation, ended his due time and passed away, leaving this world, they revealed their own ugliest of affairs!

Omar and Abū Bakr's Congratulations and Confession Concerning the Guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib

From the *Zakhā'ir al-Uqbā*, Ahmad quotes Barā' Ibn ʿĀzib in his *Musnad* relating: "We were on a journey with the Prophet, and arrived at the Land of Ghadīr Khumm." He then carries on by describing the Prophet's sermon, and at the bottom of the page he says:

فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئاً لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ[82]

"After the ceremony, Omar saw Ali and said: 'Congratulations, O son of Abī Ṭālib! You left the night behind, and now you are the guardian of every believing man and woman!'"

Ahmad Ḥanbal has related this same hadith about Omar in his *al-Manāqib*.[83]

Moreover, Mūḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī wrote in the *Zakhā'ir*:

عَنْ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ وَقَدْ جَاءَهُ أَعْرَابِيَّانِ يَخْتَصِمَانِ فَقَالَ لِعَلِيٍّ: اقْضِ بَيْنَهُمَا يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ. فَقَضَى عَلِيٌّ بَيْنَهُمَا. فَقَالَ أَحَدُهُمَا: هَذَا يَقْضِي بَيْنَنَا؟! فَوَثَبَ إِلَيْهِ عُمَرُ وَأَخَذَ بِتَلْبِيبِهِ وَقَالَ: وَيْحَكَ مَا تَدْرِي مَنْ هَذَا؟! هَذَا مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ! وَمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ مَوْلَاهُ فَلَيْسَ بِمُؤْمِنٍ.

It has been related from Omar, may God be pleased with him, that when two Arabs came to him to settle a dispute, he turned to the Master of the Faithful, asking: "O Abū al-Hasan, make your judgment between these two." Ali gave his opinion, and then one of them said: "What! Is this man going to judge between us?" On hearing this, Omar hastily seized the man by the collar, and said: "Woe upon you! Do you not know who this

man is? This man is my master, and the master of every man; whoever Ali is not master of is not a Muslim!"

Ibn al-Sammān also has this hadith in his *al-Muwāfiqa*, and Ibn Athīr Jazarī has narrated the hadith as follows:

قَالَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ: يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ الْيَوْمَ وَلِيَّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ.[84]

"Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said: 'You faced the morning, and now you are the guardian of every believer.'"

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ibn Humām al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, who is a Sunni, after relating the event of Ghadīr Khumm and the information about the guardianship, writes:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا عَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ، وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ، وَأَدِرِ الْحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيْثُ كَانَ.

"Whoever I am master of, so is Ali his master. O God, love him who loves Ali, and be the enemy of him who is his enemy; help whoever helps him, and humiliate whoever humiliates him; and let the right be with him wherever he might be."

He goes on to say that soon after delivering his sermon and stating his will concerning Ali, the Prophet entered his tent, and the people went to him in a group and congratulated him. Among the companions was Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, who congratulated the Holy Imam by saying:

بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا بْنَ اَبِيطَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Blessed are you, O son of Abī Ṭālib! Now you face the morning, and are our master, and the master of every believing man and woman."

After that, all the women entered the tent one after another and offered their congratulations to Imam Ali.

Mīr Muhammad Khānd Shāh, also known as Mīr Khānd, has the same thing in his book on history.[85]

A great many Shi'a scholars have related that the two Shaykhs, Omar and Abū Bakr, congratulated Ali, as well as Sunni scholars in their own histories and commentaries, through authenticated chains from Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurayrah, Zayd Ibn Arqam, and Barā' Ibn 'Āzib.

Great Sunni Scholars Who Have Celebrated the Two Shaykhs

A few Sunnis have used the phrase

بَخٍ بَخٍ لَكَ يَا عَلِيُّ

some have said

هَنِيئًا لَكَ

or

طُوبَى لَكَ

while a few have also said

أَصْبَحْتَ، أَمْسَيْتَ، أَصْبَحْتُ، أَمْسَيْتُ.

Some narrators have said that Omar offered his congratulations, whereas others have said it was Abū Bakr, and a few have said it was both of them. The phraseology also varies: Some have said it was

مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

others say it was

مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

while a few have said it was

مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ

However, we will draw from what ᶜAllāmah Amīnī has explained in *al-Ghadīr*.

First: Hāfiẓ Ahmad Ibn Oqda in the *Walāyah*, Hāfiẓ Abū ᶜAbdullāh Marzbānī in the *Suruqāt al-Shiᶜr*, Hāfiẓ Ali Ibn Omar Dārquṭnī quoting Ibn Ḥajar in the *al-Ṣawāᶜiq*, Abū Muhammad ᶜĀṣimī in the *Zayn al-Fatā*, Hāfiẓ Abū ᶜAbdullāh Ganjī in the *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, Ibn Ḥajar Asqalānī Haythamī in *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah*, Shams al-Dīn Manāwī Shāfiʿī in the *Fayḍ al-Ghadīr*, Abū ᶜAbdullāh Zarqānī in the *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*, and Sayyid Ahmad Zaynī Daḥlān in *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmīyya* have all related the words used by Omar and Abū Bakr as

قَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ: أَمْسَيْتَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

Second: Hāfiẓ Abū ᶜAbdullāh in the *Baṭṭāh*, the book *al-Ibāna*, and Qāḍī Abū Bakr Baqlānī in the *Tamhīd al-Uṣūl* have related the following:

إِنَّ أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ لَمَّا سَمِعَا قَالَا: يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَنْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Indeed, when Omar and Abū Bakr heard the announcement, they said: 'O son of Abī Ṭālib! You are the master of every believing man and believing woman.'"

Third: Hāfiẓ Abū Bakr Ibn Shaybah in the book *al-Muṣannif*, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*, Hāfiẓ Abū ᶜAbbās Shaybānī and Hāfiẓ

Abū Yaʿlī Muṣilī in their *Musnad*, Hāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd Samʿānī in the *Faḍāʾil al-Shiʿa*, Abū al-Faraj Ibn Juzī Ḥanbalī in his *al-Manāqib*, Abū al-Muẓaffar Sibṭ Ibn Juzī Ḥanafī in the *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣ al-Umma*, Omar Ibn Muhammad Mullā in the *Wasīlat al-Mutaʿabbidīn*, Hāfiẓ Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah*, Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammuʾī in *al-Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, Walī al-Dīn Khaṭīb in the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, Jamāl al-Dīn Zarandī in the *Nazm al-Durar al-Simṭayn*, Abū al-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr Shāmī Shāfiʿī in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, Taqī al-Dīn Miqrīzī Miṣrī in the *Khiṭaṭ*, Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Ṣabbāq Mālikī in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, Kamāl al-Dīn Maybudī in the *Sharḥ Dīwān* (related from Imam Ali according to the quotation of *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*), Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī in the *Jam al-Jawāmi*, Nūr al-Dīn Samhūdi Shāfiʿī in the *Wafa al-Wafā bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, Sayyid Ali Ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī in the *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*, Sayyid Maḥmūd Shaykhānī Qādirī in *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Sawī fi Manāqib Āl al-Nabī*, Shaykh Ahmad Bākithīr Makkī in the *Wasīlat al-Maʾāl fi Add Manāqib al-Āl al-Nabī*, Mīrzā Muhammad Badakhshānī in the *Miftāḥ al-Naja fi Manāqib al-Āl al-Abā*, Shaykh Muhammad Ṣadr al-ʿĀlam in *Maʿārij al-ʿUlā fi Manāqib al-Murtaḍā*, Abū Walīyallāh Omarī Dehlawī and Sayyid Muhammad Ṣanʿānī in *Rawḍat al-Nadiyya Sharḥ al-Tuḥfat al-ʿAlawīyya*, Mawlawī Muhammad Mubīn al-Lakhanawī in the *Wasilat al-Najāt*, and Shaykh Muhammad Jīballah Shanqīṭī Mālikī in *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib fī Ḥayāt Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* have all written it as

قَالَ عُمَرُ: هَنِيئاً لَكَ يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ.

("Congratulations, O son of Abī Ṭālib! You passed the night, and now you are the guardian of every believing man and woman").

Fourth: Hāfiẓ Abū Jarīr Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, Hāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd Khargushī in the *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, Abū Saʿīd Ghazālī in the *Sīr al-ʿĀlamayn*, Akhtab al-Khutabā al-Khārazm Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad Ḥanafī in his *al-Manāqib*, Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī Shāfiʿī in his *Tafsīr*, and Niẓām al-Dīn Qummī Nishābūrī, Sayyid Abū al-Wahāb Ḥusaynī Būkhārī, and Muhammad Maḥbūb ʿĀlim in the *Tafsīr-i Shāhī* all report it as

فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئاً لَكَ يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ.

"Omar approached him and said: 'Congratulation, O son of Abī Ṭālib. You passed the night, and now you are the master of every believing man and believing woman.'"

Fifth: Hāfiẓ Ibn Sammān Rāzī, as related from Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah*, Shanqīṭī in *Ḥayāt Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib* and

Ḥusām al-Dīn Bāyazīd Sahānpūrī in the *Marāfiḍ al-Rawāfiḍ* have related it as

فَلَقِيَ عَلِيًّا (ع) عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: هَنِيئًا يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ وَأَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ.

"After this event, Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb met Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and said: 'O son of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Congratulations! You passed the night, and this morning you are now my master and the master of every believing man and woman.'"

Sixth: Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī in his commentary *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*, Hāfiẓ Abū Bakr Bayhaqī in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, Hāfiẓ Abū Bakr Khaṭīb Baghdādī, and Faqīh Abū al-Hasan Ibn Maghāzilī in *al-Manāqib*, Abū al-Fatḥ Ashʿarī Shahristānī in *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, and Qāḍī Najm al-Dīn Azruʾī Shāfiʿī in the *Badīʿ al-Maʿānī* have narrated it as:

فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ [illegible]: هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ.

"After the Prophet's sermon, Omar met Ali and said: 'O son of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Congratulations! You left the night behind, and now it is morning, and you are the master of every believing man and woman.'"

Seventh: Faqīh Ibn Maghāzilī in *al-Manāqib*, and Khaṭīb Khārazmī, through another chain, also in *al-Manāqib*, have related it as follows:

فَانْصَرَفَ عَلِيٌّ قَرِيرَ الْعَيْنِ فَاتَّبَعَهُ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فَقَالَ: بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ.

"After the Prophet's sermon, Ali walked away in good cheer. Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb followed him, and said: 'O Abū al-Hasan! You passed the night, and now it is morning, and you are the master of every believing man and woman.'"

Eighth: Abū al-Fatḥ Muhammad Ibn Ali Naṭanzī in *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah*, and Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammūʾī, through another chain, have related it as:

قَالَ عُمَرُ: بَخٍ بَخٍ يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ.

"Omar said: 'Well done, well done, O son of Abī Ṭālib! You passed the night, and now it is morning, and you are the master of every believing man and woman.'"

Ninth: Abū Muhammad ʿĀṣimī, through another chain, has related it in the *Zayn al-Fatā* as

قَالَ عُمَرُ: هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ.

"Omar said: 'O Abū al-Hasan! Congratulations! You passed the night, and now it is morning, and you are the master of every believing man and woman.'"

Tenth: Abū al-Saʿādat Ibn Athīr Shaybānī in *Nihāyat* and Shahāb al-Dīn Qasṭalānī in *al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, have related it as

قَوْلَ عُمَرَ لِعَلِيٍّ: أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ.

"Omar said to Ali: 'You approached the morning and now you are the master of every believing man and believing woman.'"

Eleventh: ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Athīr Shaybānī has related it as

يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ الْيَوْمَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ.[86]

"O son of Abī Tālib! You passed the night, and now it is the morning, and you are the master of every believing man and believing woman."

These are some of the hadiths relating how both Shaykhs have confessed to the guardianship of Ali, but they interpreted its meaning as something other than the imamate and the caliphate, and this they did in order to maintain their rulership. However, this cannot be correct, because according to Arab grammarians, the root of the word for "guardianship," as mentioned earlier, has a comprehensive meaning of rulership, chairmanship, government, and the caliphate—hence authority in religious as well as worldly affairs.

It is quite clear that they denied this, citing many reasons why the government and religion should be two separate things, and that the people should choose their own imam. As can be seen in Sunni philosophy, they say that the hadith *man kuntu mawlāhu fa Aliyyun mawlāhu* is quite rightly what the Prophet said, but that guardianship does not mean rulership and the caliphate. This is why they say that although the two Shaykhs heard what the Prophet said, and they both congratulated Ali and accepted his guardianship, they both decided to choose a caliph later on, and swore allegiance to Abū Bakr.

The Assertion by the Author of *al-Minār* that the Sunnis Have the Claim to the Guardianship

Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā says that the Sunnis say that this hadith has nothing to do with the imamate and the caliphate. It is not what the narrative in the Qurʾan means, which is that the guardianship is the friendship that God enjoins upon all believers: *Some of them are the friends of others.* Therefore, the meaning of the hadith is "Whomsoever I am master to, so is Ali his master," or "Whomsoever I am

master and guardian to, so is this Ali his master and guardian." This amounts to saying that since Ali followed the Prophet, Ali has helped whomever the Prophet helped. Therefore, it is the responsibility of anyone who has helped the Prophet to help Ali in the same way, and this is a great privilege. Ali assisted Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othmān, and he was their guardian. Therefore, the proof of this hadith cannot be against those who have taken those three, Abū Bakr, Omar, and Othmān, as their guardian as Ali did, but a proof against those who deny them. The hadith is only a proof against those who took Muʿāwiyah as their guardian and helped him.

Hence, the hadith has nothing to do with Ali's imamate, but relates to the necessity of assisting him, whether he is an imam or a follower, because if the Prophet's sermon referred to the imamate, Ali would have been the imam at that time, which even the Shiʿa do not believe.

The Shiʿa and the Sunnis have different views on this matter, but we will not go into detail here, because laboring the point only brings division amongst the Muslims. As long as antagonism exists within the religion, it is hard to settle the disagreement between the two parties. However, if the differences were settled and forgotten by all involved, then it would make no difference which side's opinion proves to be right, because no animosity would remain, and both sides could consider the case with fairness and accept the conclusions. They could then appreciate what is right, and forgive each other.

As it says in the Qurʾan, and is quoted by Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh in his *Tafsīr al-Minār*, vol. 6, pp. 465–66:

رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لَنَا وَلِإِخْوَانِنَا الَّذِينَ سَبَقُونَا بِالْإِيمَانِ وَلَا تَجْعَلْ فِي قُلُوبِنَا غِلًّا لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا رَبَّنَا إِنَّكَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ.[87]

...Our Lord, forgive us and our brethren who were before us in faith, and place not in our hearts any rancour toward those who believe. Our Lord, You are indeed Full of Kindness and Merciful (59:10).

By God's own Power and His direct Guidance, we have succeeded in making the significance of the guardianship clear. It is the very station of servitude where the veil between the lover and the Beloved is removed. Its main requirement is to be attentive to and intimate with the Court of the Divine Kingdom, and leadership, governance, and the imamate are its primary and invincible tools, whose separation, as the Prophet's sermon and other sources make clear, is irrational. Therefore, the hadith concerning the guardianship directly refers to Ali's statesmanship, and distinguishes between Supporters such as Salmān, Abūdhar, Miqdād, and Ammār, and whoever might be in opposition. This is the basis for the two expressions, "taking as

a friend" and "denouncing," as two necessary pillars of the religion. However, unfriendly discussion is always wrong, for it goes against both a good moral attitude and the religion, whereas a sound discussion is free of antagonism. If our discussion does not accord with genuine history and the hadiths of the companions, then how can we tell whether it is right or wrong? Then how could we establish our decisions on a correct foundation? It is necessary to know the companions and the way they thought. Whoever seeks to discover the right religion cannot ignore this by blindly following their own ways, since that would go against Islam. If God is willing, we hope to discuss this in the future.

But if it is not right to investigate the points of view of each of the two parties—the Shi'a and the Sunnis—and express the outcome, then it is clear that this kind of investigation would lead us to a position that would put the companions to shame regarding what we understand to be absolutely clear about the station of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and the usurpation of his right. We would then become familiar with how they set the house of the Prophet ablaze. Therefore, it is much better if the topic is not discussed in order to find a compromise.

Nevertheless, the responsibility of an investigator is to penetrate a given topic of discussion, explore it thoroughly, and come up with an unbiased result. People can then understand the truth of the matter without subjecting the narrator to any blame. A writer, especially one who writes about opinions and beliefs, must be honest and reliable, because people accept what he says and follow his guidance.

Why did those in opposition overlook Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the single most righteous, knowledgeable, and brave man, who was well acquainted with God's Book and the traditions of the Prophet, and had a record of servitude and devotion to the Prophet, both openly and in secret?

How the Secret Vote in the Saqīfa Was a Trick, and Therefore Invalid

If the imamate and guardianship is a matter of the people's choice, and in times of difficulty they refer to those in authority, then why should they choose their guardian in secret? Why would it be done in haste, without letting the followers of Ali know of it, away from the sight of the companions of the Prophet, the Immigrants, and the Helpers, and without letting ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet, and his children know about it? And without any of the Quraysh taking part in the funeral service, in opposition to some of the Immigrants and

Helpers, while Ali was busy washing and enshrouding the body of the Prophet before it was laid in the ground? At that very moment, according to the Sunni historians, the two Shaykhs set out for the Saqīfa Banī Sāʿidah. They were in such a hurry that one quickly overtook the other on the way. Once there, after discussing the precedence of the Quraysh with the Helpers, they swore allegiance to Abū Bakr.

If the choice of the imam was up to the Quraysh, then surely, since Ali was of the Quraysh and had a privileged position close to the Prophet, their reasoning according to pedigree was somehow forgotten.

Ibn Qutayba Dīnavarī says that when they took Ali to the mosque and forced him to pay homage, he said:

اللهَ اللهَ يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ! لَا تُخْرِجُوا سُلْطَانَ مُحَمَّدٍ فِي الْعَرَبِ عَنْ دَارِهِ وَقَعْرِ بَيْتِهِ إِلَى دُورِكُمْ وَقُعُورِ بُيُوتِكُمْ، وَلَا تَدْفَعُوا أَهْلَهُ عَنْ مَقَامِهِ فِي النَّاسِ وَحَقِّهِ، فَوَاللهِ يَا مَعْشَرَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، لَنَحْنُ أَحَقُّ النَّاسِ بِهِ، لِأَنَّا أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ، وَنَحْنُ أَحَقُّ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ!

مَا كَانَ فِينَا الْقَارِئُ لِكِتَابِ اللهِ، الْفَقِيهُ فِي دِينِ اللهِ، الْعَالِمُ بِسُنَنِ رَسُولِ اللهِ، الْمُضْطَلِعُ بِأَمْرِ الرَّعِيَّةِ، الْمُدَافِعُ عَنْهُمُ الْأُمُورَ السَّيِّئَةَ، الْقَاسِمُ بَيْنَهُمْ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، وَاللهِ إِنَّهُ لَفِينَا! فَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَى فَتَضِلُّوا عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللهِ، فَتَزْدَادُوا مِنَ الْحَقِّ بُعْداً.

قَالَ بَشِيرُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ: لَوْ كَانَ هَذَا الْكَلَامُ سَمِعَتْهُ الْأَنْصَارُ مِنْكَ يَا عَلِيُّ قَبْلَ بَيْعَتِهَا لِأَبِي بَكْرٍ مَا اخْتَلَفَ عَلَيْكَ اثْنَانِ![88]

> O company of Migrants! By God! And for His sake take Him into consideration! O company of Migrants! Do not transfer the power of Muhammad from his house to your own! And do not take away the right of his family in front of the people and place them in hardship! O Migrants! I swear by God that we are the most privileged in the sight of the Prophet, because we are his Household, and we deserve the imamate and the guardianship more than you do.

Bashīr Ibn Saʿd Anṣārī said: "O Ali, if the tribe of the Helpers had heard what you said before paying allegiance to Abū Bakr, they would have sworn allegiance to you as their imam. Then there would not remain two men opposing each other."

Rejecting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Because He Was Too Young

We should be aware that this Bashīr Ibn Saʿd

بَشِيرُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ، بَشِيرُ بْنُ سَعْدِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ جُلَاسٍ انصاری خزرجی

was a great Sayyid, and the greatest man of the Khazraj tribe.[89] It was he who opposed Sa'd Ibn 'Ibādah, the chief of the tribe of Aus, at the Saqīfa, and he paid allegiance to Abū Bakr even before Omar and Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ. The Helpers then followed his lead by paying allegiance to Abū Bakr.

His confession proves something very important. His actual words were: "If the Helpers had heard the words of Ali before paying allegiance to Abū Bakr, no one would now avoid paying allegiance to Ali." This shows that with the main candidate absent, the events of the Saqīfa Banī Sā'idah were totally worthless! The secret gathering, without Ali, Banī Hāshim, the Migrants, and the Helpers present lacks the necessary value. One of their excuses concerning the guardianship of Ali was that he was too young! They said: "Ali is young." When they took Ali to the mosque to pay allegiance, Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ told him:

يَابْنَ عَمِّ، إِنَّكَ حَدِيثُ السِّنِّ وَهَؤُلَاءِ مَشْيَخَةُ قَوْمِكَ، لَيْسَ لَكَ مِثْلُ تَجْرِبَتِهِمْ وَمَعْرِفَتِهِمْ بِالْأُمُورِ، وَلَا أَرَى أَبَا بَكْرٍ إِلَّا أَقْوَى عَلَى هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْكَ وَأَشَدَّ احْتِمَالًا وَاضْطِلَاعًا بِهِ، فَسَلِّمْ لِأَبِي بَكْرٍ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ، فَإِنَّكَ إِنْ تَعِشْ وَيَطُلْ بِكَ بَقَاءٌ فَأَنْتَ لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ خَلِيقٌ وَبِهِ حَقِيقٌ فِي فَضْلِكَ وَدِينِكَ وَعِلْمِكَ وَفَهْمِكَ وَسَابِقَتِكَ وَنَسَبِكَ وَصِهْرِكَ[90]

O my cousin, you are still young; you are really too young, and these shaykhs are your relatives. You do not have enough experience to govern as they do, and I certainly know that Abū Bakr is more capable and has more power than you in this matter. And he has the patience to accept this responsibility. Now, trust him to have the guardianship and governance. And when you have grown to maturity, you will deserve to take authority in your hands, for then you will be strong enough and have more power to manage it. This I say because of your virtue, your religion, your knowledge and understanding, your record, and your relationship with the Prophet as his son-in-law.

Here we see how, as a third party, Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ, by his well-planned words and advice about swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr, and his membership in the Saqīfa and willingness to assist the two Shaykhs, put aside Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the one with such virtue and knowledge, the protector of the religion, and, above all, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Although he had more right than the two Shaykhs, he was overlooked just because he was young. Instead, he

was told: "Do not worry, when you grow up, you will get the position of the guardianship."

First of all, Ali was thirty-three years old when the Prophet passed away, and not a youth. He had served the Prophet since his childhood, and was with him at all times. He was quite aware of the rules of the religion, and according to all, both friends and foes, he supported the Prophet. He held the treasury of the Prophet's knowledge and was familiar with God's Book and the traditions of the Prophet. He was the bravest fighter and the slayer of enemies, and the opposer of pride and idolatry.

Ali was skilled in Islam, and he had knowledge of the religion and its secrets. He was the minister, guardian, and successor, as well as a brother and caliph, after the demise of the Prophet.

Of what matter is youth or old age if a person lacks knowledge, insight, generosity, devotion, self-possession, kindness, fortitude, and piety? Does a shining, magnificent pearl not have as much worth as a piece of rock? Is a newborn baby not more precious than an elephant? Is a strong and knowledgeable young man not worth more than a weak and frail old man?

Above all, what is the meaning of this meddling with the religion? If the Prophet chose him as caliph and named him as his successor,[91] inheritor, and guardian, then who on earth should interfere? Is this not interfering in spiritual matters and the truth concerning the secrets of God and prophethood? No one has the right to cast aside the Prophet's son-in-law out of respect for the old age of Abū Bakr.

Was the Prophet not wise enough to choose him as his successor and guardian, and entrust him with all sacred matters? After all, he gave Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib the title of "Master of the Faithful," which means the chief, a sayyid, and Master of the Believers. At the end of his sermon at Ghadīr Khumm, he told the people to come together, including the shaykhs of the Quraysh and their wives, and one by one to salute and congratulate Ali as the guardian, with everyone saying:

السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

So were God and His Prophet unaware that the caliph that was to be chosen by the people was incapable of fulfilling the guardianship, or that the people knew best?

They have narrated:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص): مَا أَنْزَلَ اللهُ آيَةً فِيهَا «يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا» إِلَّا وَعَلِيٌّ رَأْسُهَا وَأَمِيرُهَا.[92]

The Prophet stated:

God has not revealed any verse to the believers beginning with

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

without intending that, in that verse, Ali is meant to be the chief and emir.

The Prophet addressed Ali as

أَمِيرُ الْبَرَرَةِ

and

إِمَامُ الْبَرَرَةِ

which means the leader of the good and those who do good.

Through his chains, Ḥammūʾī has quoted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Bahmān as saying that he heard Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullāh saying:

On the Day of Hudayba, the Prophet held Ali by the arm and said:

هَذَا أَمِيرُ الْبَرَرَةِ قَاتِلُ الْفَجَرَةِ، مَنْصُورٌ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، مَخْذُولٌ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ

"This is the emir of the good and doers of good, the slayer of the debauched, and the helper of those who help him, and he humiliates the one who resists him."

Jābir added: "The Prophet raised his voice when announcing these words."

Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad Khārazmī has quoted Abū Manṣūr Shahrdār Ibn Shirūya Daylamī, quoting Asbagh Ibn Nubātah as saying:

لَمَّا أُصِيبَ زَيْدُ بْنُ صُوحَانَ يَوْمَ الْجَمَلِ أَتَاهُ عَلِيٌّ (ع) وَبِهِ رَمَقٌ، فَوَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ وَهُوَ لَا بِهِ فَقَالَ: رَحِمَكَ اللهُ يَا زَيْدُ، فَوَاللهِ مَا عَرَفْتُكَ إِلَّا خَفِيفَ الْمُؤْنَةِ كَثِيرَ الْمَعُونَةِ، قَالَ: فَرَفَعَ إِلَيْهِ رَأْسَهُ وَقَالَ: أَنْتَ مَوْلَايَ يَرْحَمُكَ اللهُ فَوَاللهِ مَا عَرَفْتُكَ إِلَّا بِاللهِ عَالِماً، وَبِآيَاتِهِ عَارِفاً، وَاللهِ مَا فَاتَكَ مَعَكَ مِنْ جَهْلٍ وَلَكِنِّي سَمِعْتُ حُذَيْفَةَ بْنَ الْيَمَانِ يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ (ص) يَقُولُ: عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْبَرَرَةِ، وَ قَاتِلُ الْفَجَرَةِ، مَنْصُورٌ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، مَخْذُولٌ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْحَقَّ مَعَهُ وَبِهِ يَتَّبِعُهُ أَلَا فَسِيلُوا مَعَهُ [93]

When Zayd Ibn Ṣuhān was wounded on the day of the Battle of Jamāl, he collapsed on the ground and was taking his last gasps, when Ali went to him and stood by his side, saying: "O Zayd, may your Creator bless you! By God, we have come to understand that you have been a fair and gentle person, and a reliable helper to us."

Zayd raised his head a little and turned to him, saying:

> You are my master! By God, I did not find you anything but pious and God-fearing. You knew His signs and revelations. By God, I did not help you to fight your enemies in ignorance, but I heard Ḥudhayfah Yamānī say that the Prophet said: "Ali is the emir of the good and doer of good, the slayer of the debauched, and the helper of the one who helps him, and he humiliates those who resist him! Be aware that righteousness is with Ali, and goes where he goes. Always be on your guard and stay by Ali's side."

It has also been narrated that Ibn Asākar has quoted the Prophet as saying:

عَلِيٌّ إِمَامُ الْبَرَرَةِ وَقَاتِلُ الْفَجَرَةِ، مَنْصُورٌ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، مَخْذُولٌ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ [94]

"Ali is the imam of the good and those who do good, the slayer of the debauched, and the helper of him who helps him, and he humiliates the one who resists helping him."

Abū Naʿīm Iṣfahānī has quoted Maʿādh Ibn Jabal as saying that the Prophet declared:

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم: يَا عَلِيُّ أَخْصَمُكَ بِالنُّبُوَّةِ وَلَا نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي، وَتُخْصَمُ النَّاسَ بِسَبْعٍ وَلَا يُحَاجُّكَ فِيهَا أَحَدٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، أَنْتَ أَوَّلُهُمْ إِيمَاناً، وَأَوْفَاهُمْ بِعَهْدِ اللهِ، وَأَقْوَمُهُمْ بِأَمْرِ اللهِ، وَأَقْسَمُهُمْ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، وَأَعْدَلُهُمْ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَأَبْصَرُهُمْ بِالْقَضِيَّةِ، وَأَعْظَمُهُمْ عِنْدَ اللهِ مَزِيَّةً [95]

> O Ali, I prevail over you concerning the prophethood, because there is no prophet after me. However, you have seven priorities above the people, which none of the Quraysh can dispute. You are the first among those who have embraced Islam. And you are the most loyal of them all to God. And you are the most powerful in God's commands. You are the most righteous of those who divide the public treasury justly. You are the most virtuous of the nation. And you are most attentive in solving the problems, disputes, and fighting among the people. And you are the greatest of those with immense privileges before God, the Most High.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that this testimony of the Prophet entrusted the position of statesmanship to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and also that of emir, chief, and master of the Muslims, and singled him out as the most aware and stable man in all matters, is it not shameful to ignore all this and cast him aside only for being young, and then give the authority to old men who are not capable of doing anything at all?

If youth is an obstacle to being a ruler or statesman, then why did the Prophet choose Osāma Ibn Zayd as commander of the army? He

was quite young—less than twenty years old—and older men of the Quraysh, such as Abū Bakr and Omar, were under his control.[96] When he commanded the army to set out, it moved at once. How, then, was it possible for a twenty-year-old man to become a chieftain above Abū Bakr and Omar?

When Abū Bakr usurped the government after the Prophet's demise, he did not stop Osāma from commanding the army, even though Osāma was a young man. Abū Bakr said: "I am not dismissing him, because the Messenger of God has appointed him as the army chief, and I will never do anything against the Prophet's will." And even when Omar was insisting on his dismissal, Abū Bakr got angry and seized him by the beard and pulled it forcefully, and remonstrated with Omar for objecting to the Prophet's instructions. "What?" he said. "The Messenger of God appointed him, and now I should dismiss Him?"[97]

However, he did oppose the Prophet when he usurped the government by ignoring Ali's rights without permission.

He kept saying that he would fight against injustice: "I would fight for a braid of the handkerchief[98] that they gave to the Prophet, but now they do not give it to me!" However, he openly took the *fadak* away from Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', not knowing that it was in overt opposition to the Prophet.

The Prophet says in a succession of Shi'a and Sunni hadiths:

أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْعِلْمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا، وَمَنْ أَرَادَ مَدِينَةَ الْعِلْمِ فَلْيَأْتِهَا مِنْ بَابِهَا.[99]

"I am the city of knowledge, and Ali is its gate; so whoever wishes to enter the city must do so only through that gate."

He also said:

أَنَا دَارُ الْحِكْمَةِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا.[100]

"I am the house of wisdom, and Ali is the gate." And also

أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْجَنَّةِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا، كَذَبَ مَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّهُ يَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ مِنْ غَيْرِ بَابِهَا.[101]

"I am the town of Paradise, and Ali is its gate; he lies who thinks he can enter it other than by the main gate of Paradise."

One must enter Paradise through its gate of knowledge and wisdom, and that gate is Ali. If one tries to enter through Abū Bakr, one ends up somewhere else. How well Qāḍī Nūr Allah Shūshtarī wrote this line: "Without doubt, it is a mistake to associate idols with the Name of God, but accept Imam Ali."[102]

Ibn Asākar has quoted Abū al-Mahāsin ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Muhammad, who related through his chains from Aʾla Ibn Musayyib, quoting Abū Dāwūd, that Buraydah Aslamī said:

وَأَنَا أَصْغَرُ الْقَوْمِ يَوْمَئِذٍ. قَالَ: أَمَرَنَا رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص) أَنْ نُسَلِّمَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَنَحْنُ سَبْعَةٌ.[103]

"The Master of the Faithful" as the Specific Title of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib

"The Prophet commanded us to offer salutations to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib with the title 'Master of the Faithful.' We were seven altogether, and at the time I was the youngest among them."

Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb is reported by the Sunnis in *al-Manāqib* as saying in the commentary of Mujāhid:

> Wherever
>
> يا ايها الذين آمنوا
>
> appears in the Holy Qurʾan, it refers to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. This is because he was first to embrace Islam. Moreover, God has called him "Master of the Faithful" and "Master of the Orators until the Day of Judgement" on eighty-nine different occasions.

He goes on to say:

> This report of the command to salute him with the title "Master of the Faithful" is an ongoing matter for the Shiʿa, and most of the Sunnis have related it in different ways. We have never come across any Sunni who objected to it, or denied that the Prophet said:
>
> سَلِّمْ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
>
> Their scholars have related it by means of their chains from Buraydah Aslamī.

Yūsuf Ibn Kulayb Masʿūdī has also related it through his chains from Abū Dāwūd Sabīʿī, and Abbād Ibn Yaʿqūb Asadī has reported through his chains from Abū Dāwūd Sabīʿī that Abū Buraydah said that Abū Bakr went to the Prophet, who said:

إِذْهَبْ فَسَلِّمْ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ وَأَنْتَ حَيٌّ؟ قَالَ: وَأَنَا حَيٌّ، ثُمَّ جَاءَ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ لَهُ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ.

"Go to the Master of the Faithful and salute him." Abū Bakr said: "Even now while you are alive?" and the Prophet said: "Yes." Then

Omar entered the room, and the Prophet told him the same as he had told Abū Bakr.

And in a hadith of Sabīʿī, it is related that Omar asked the Prophet: "Who is the Master of the Faithful?" and the Prophet answered: "He is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib." Omar then asked: "Is it by the Command of God and His Prophet?" and the Prophet said: "Yes, it is."

Also, Ibrāhīm Thaqafī heard from ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jabalah al-Kanānī, back through Dhurayḥ Muḥāribī and Thumālī, back to Imam Ṣādiq, saying that Buraydah had been to Shām. Therefore, he was in Medina at the time they swore allegiance to Abū Bakr. When he returned from Medina, the people had already done so. Buraydah went to Abū Bakr and said:

يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ، هَلْ نَسِيتَ تَسْلِيمَنَا عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاجِبَةً مِنَ اللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ؟

"O Abū Bakr! Have you forgotten the salutation we gave Ali as the Master of the Faithful, which was God's command as our duty to him?"

Abū Bakr replied:

قَالَ قَبِصَةُ: فَرَأَيْتُهُ يَوْمَ النَّهْرَوَانِ قَتِيلاً، قَدْ وَطِئَتِ الْخَيْلُ وَجْهَهُ، وَشَدَخَتْ رَأْسَهُ، وَمُثِّلَتْ بِهِ؛ فَذَكَرْتُ قَوْلَ عَلِيٍّ وَقُلْتُ: لِلّٰهِ دَرُّ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ! مَا حَرَّكَ شَفَتَيْهِ قَطُّ بِشَيْءٍ إِلَّا كَانَ كَذٰلِكَ.

"O Buraydah! You were absent then, but we were present. And God brings forth a new event after an old one, but He has never brought forth prophethood and governance together from one household."

Both Ibrāhīm Thaqafī and Sarrī Ibn ʿAbdullāh have reported Imrān Ḥaṣīn and Abū Buraydah saying that they told Abū Bakr:

قَدْ كُنْتَ أَنْتَ يَوْمَئِذٍ فِيمَنْ سَلَّمَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، فَهَلْ تَذْكُرُ ذٰلِكَ الْيَوْمَ أَمْ نَسِيتَهُ؟ قَالَ: بَلْ أَذْكُرُهُ، فَقَالَ بُرَيْدَةُ: فَهَلْ يَنْبَغِي لِأَحَدٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ أَنْ يَتَأَمَّرَ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟

فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: إِنَّ النُّبُوَّةَ وَالْإِمَامَةَ لَا تُجْمَعُ فِي بَيْتٍ وَاحِدٍ، فَقَالَ لَهُ بُرَيْدَةُ: قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿أَمْ يَحْسُدُونَ النَّاسَ عَلَى مَا آتَاهُمُ اللهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ فَقَدْ آتَيْنَا آلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَآتَيْنَاهُمْ مُلْكًا عَظِيمًا﴾ فَقَدْ جَمَعَ بَيْنَ النُّبُوَّةِ وَالْمُلْكِ. قَالَ: فَغَضِبَ عُمَرُ، وَمَا زِلْنَا نَعْرِفُ فِي وَجْهِهِ الْغَضَبَ حَتَّى مَاتَ.[104]

"You were among those who saluted Ali by his title of "Master of the Faithful." So do you remember that day, or have you forgotten it?" Abū Bakr said: "Perhaps I remember it, but what of it?" Buraydah said: "Is it possible for one of the Muslims to offer statesmanship only to one person?"

Omar said: "Prophethood and the imamate cannot occur in just a single house." Buraydah said:

God, the Most Exalted, has stated:

أَمْ يَحْسُدُونَ النَّاسَ عَلَى مَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ فَقَدْ آتَيْنَا آلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَآتَيْنَاهُمْ مُلْكًا عَظِيمًا

...For We bestowed upon the house of Abraham the Scripture and wisdom, and We bestowed on them a mighty kingdom (4:54).

Buraydah continued: "These words irritated Omar, and until his death we would clearly see anger and hatred in his face."

Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī points out some details about Ali from before the Battle of Ṣiffīn, one of which is when Ali said:

إِنَّ أَعْجَبَ كُلَّ الْعَجَبِ مِنْ جُهَّالِ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ وَضُلَّالِهَا وَقَادَتِهَا وَسَائِقِهَا إِلَى النَّارِ أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ سَمِعُوا رَسُولَ اللهِ (ص) يَقُولُ عَوْداً وَبَدْءاً: مَا وَلَّتْ أُمَّةٌ رَجُلاً قَطُّ أَمْرَهَا وَفِيهِمْ أَعْلَمُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا لَمْ يَزَلْ أَمْرُهُمْ يَذْهَبُ سَفَالاً حَتَّى يَرْجِعُوا إِلَى مَا تَرَكُوا.

فَوَلَّوْا أَمْرَهُمْ قَبْلِي ثَلَاثَةَ رَهْطٍ مَا مِنْهُمْ رَجُلٌ جَمَعَ الْقُرْآنَ، وَلَا يَدَّعِي أَنَّ لَهُ عِلْماً بِكِتَابِ اللهِ وَلَا سُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ (ص) وَقَدْ عَلِمُوا إِنِّي أَعْلَمُهُمْ بِكِتَابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ (ص) وَأَفْقَهُهُمْ وَأَقْرَأُهُمْ لِكِتَابِ اللهِ وَأَقْضَاهُمْ بِحُكْمِ اللهِ...[105]

The condition of ignorance within this nation is very surprising, and people are astray; and the pioneers, as well their followers, are all heading towards the Fire, and some even blindly follow them there. They do this even after hearing the Prophet say: "Never has a nation trusted its affairs to a man who was the least wise among the people, and there were among the people wiser and more knowledgeable ones than he, unless their condition had deteriorated to a bad state, and they unwittingly referred to such a man."

Before me, this nation trusted its affairs to three persons, but none of them had done anything in the collection of the Qur'an, nor had they claimed to know the Book of God or the laws and traditions of His Prophet. They knew that I was the wisest among the nation and familiar with the Book of God and the laws and traditions of the Messenger of God, and the best in jurisprudence, the most aware among them in the recitation of the Qur'an, and the most knowledgeable among them in judging according to God's Command, and more.[106]

Nonetheless, we have never come across anything in the Qur'an or hadiths about the Prophet that states that a young man cannot be a leader. According to God's Book and the laws and traditions of the Prophet, the basic necessary qualifications for statesmanship are knowledge, piety, insight, and the ability to express oneself well, and all these had been bestowed upon the Master of the Faithful.

وَإِنَّهُ بِذَلِكَ لَخَلِيقٌ وَبِهِ حَقِيقٌ. صلى الله عليك يا أبا الحسن ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Imam Ali, like the Prophet, Had an Interest in Guiding the Nation

However, another difficulty was that they claimed that Ali sought the imamate and caliphate. This kind of gossip can be found in some of Omar's statements. After Omar was struck by Abū Lu'lu's sword and he was on his deathbed, they asked him to nominate the next caliph. He assigned a council of six men to choose one from among the group. Those in the council were Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Othmān Ibn Affān, Ṭalḥah Ibn Obaydullāh, Zubayr Ibn ʿAwām, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAuf. They then asked Omar for his opinion concerning who of the six was most suitable, so that they could follow his advice.

Of the six men of the council, five were present and Ṭalḥah was absent. Omar counted them one by one, and said:

وَاللهِ مَا يَمْنَعُنِي أَنْ أَسْتَخْلِفَكَ يَا سَعْدُ إِلَّا شِدَّتُكَ وَغِلْظَتُكَ مَعَ أَنَّكَ رَجُلُ حَرْبٍ وَمَا يَمْنَعُنِي مِنْكَ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ إِلَّا أَنَّكَ فِرْعَوْنُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ وَمَا يَمْنَعُنِي مِنْكَ يَا زُبَيْرُ إِلَّا أَنَّكَ مُؤْمِنُ الرِّضَا كَافِرُ الْغَضَبِ. وما يمنعني من طلحة الانخوته وكبره، ولو وليها وضع خاتمه في اصبع امرأته، وما يمنعني منك يا عثمان الا عصبيتك وحبك قومك واهلك، وما يمنعني منك يا علي الا حرصك عليها، وانك احرى القوم ان وليتها ان تقيم على الحق المبين والصراط المستقيم.[107]

By God, O Saʿd, my reluctance to choose you as my successor is not personal, but because of your harshness, though you are a brave and warlike man. And you, O ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. My reluctance to choose you as my successor is not personal, for you are like Pharaoh to this nation. And O Zubayr, my reluctance to choose you as my successor is not personal, but when it comes to giving consent, you soon become soft and gentle, whereas when in anger, you become beyond control. And concerning Ṭalḥah, my reluctance to choose him as my successor is not personal, but he is excessively haughty. So, if he were to take the affairs of the Muslims in hand, he would let his wife wear his ring [i.e., take authority]. And

> you, O Othmān! My reluctance to choose you as my successor is not personal, but for your excessive affection towards your relatives and family. But you, O Ali. My reluctance to choose you as my successor is not personal, but due to your desire for the imamate and leadership. In fact, you are more capable than the others, and if you had authority over the Muslims you would direct them in the best and straightest way.

Here we see that Omar has attributed a few unpleasant characteristics, unbefitting of a leader, to all in the council except Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. However, concerning his suitability, Omar dismisses him because of his desire for the imamate. But the question is whether Ali's desire is bad, as Omar imagines, or if it is good, as we will explain, since it is something that should be examined. The desire for leadership can be of two kinds.

The first of these is taking the leadership as a "subject," and trying to attain it only for the sake of the position, and then governing the nation poorly in various directions by trying to impose one's own desires upon the people, and being satisfied when they fulfil one's instructions.

This kind of leadership stems from an aggressive and haughty sensibility that creates a veil between the leader and his Creator. This kind of behavior is like acting like Pharaoh and oppressing the people as well as oneself. In other words, it forsakes morality and humanity by exceeding the limitations that God has imposed upon man.

The second kind is to take leadership for the sake of God's creatures, upholding their rights, strengthening God's commands, bringing forth justice, attending to the people's problems, crushing oppressors, and ending fornication and unlawful acts throughout the land; and then helping the people to become happy and free, directing them to sincere prayer, and allowing them to enjoy the material and spiritual blessings of this world and the Hereafter, both apparent and hidden. It must be such that all people live under the one banner of monotheism, peace, and harmony until they pass away to their eternal abodes.

This second kind of leadership—which concerns the best of men as leader—is the best and most satisfying. It is the praiseworthy attributes of a God-given nature that raises man from terrestrial matters to the highest point in the Divine. This kind of leadership is necessary for abandoning all mundane desires and attaching oneself to the Names and Attributes of God.

It is similar to the interest a father shows in his child's training and security against all danger. He is not mean in spending his assets for the child's progress and comfort. If he does not do this, he creates

obstacles, and is responsible for the consequences of his unpleasant acts towards the child.

So it is with the imamate and leadership over God's creatures, for such a man is the father of the people. He is the manager, trainer, caretaker, and custodian of the people; he is kind to all, never rests, and does not neglect their welfare for a moment.

Both the Prophet and Imam Ali were like fathers to the nation. As the Prophet said:

أَنَا وَعَلِيٌّ أَبَوَا هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ

"Both Ali and I are the fathers of the nation." The Holy Qur'an tells us how the Prophet was eager to protect the people, direct them to unity, and establish justice in the land, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, too, was eager to govern the nation in the best way, only because he was the minister, brother, and successor to the Prophet. Hence, he could not stand idly by and be impartial.

Concerning the Prophet, God, the Exalted, says to the people:

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَحِيمٌ

Now has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves, for whom what you suffer is grievous: ardently anxious is he, for the believers most kind and merciful (9:128).

How can greed lead a people so that they obey commands? Is it possible that they would follow and obey without proper leadership? It was because of this that the disbelievers and idolaters began to hurt the Prophet's feelings by mocking him whenever they met him. Prophethood makes leadership necessary, but they considered his leadership troublesome. Therefore, in order to secure their own religion, which differed greatly from that of the Prophet, they rejected him and his prophethood, and tried to take leadership from him.

However, the merciful Prophet always sought to remove them from their gloomy thoughts, ignorant opinions, and careless behavior and customs. He tried constantly, in hunger or in thirst; he would tie a rock to his stomach and go into battle, where he was always in the front line, close to the enemy. Because of the torment of his enemies he fled to Ṭā'if, but they did not accept him there, so he returned to Mecca in fear. But there was no one in Mecca to give him shelter, for everyone was his enemy and wanted to shed his blood. Then, against his will, he took refuge with a disbeliever. And, along with the children of Hāshim and some other Muslims, he was imprisoned for three years by the tribe of Abī Ṭālib, where they were given insufficient food, and prohibited from marrying or contacting other people. At night, the cries of the hungry children coming from within the tribe

could be heard in Mecca, where the disbelievers would listen, until he escaped from Mecca and decided to migrate to Medina.

He stayed in the Cave of Thaur for three days to put the disbelievers off his track. And Ali, who was the sole, brave lover of Islam and a sincere companion of the Prophet, asked for his permission to lie in his bed.

It is clear that all these tortuous difficulties were undertaken in order to invite the people to God's straight path; it was not the seeking of rulership in order to make poor people live as slaves. As it is said: "The distance between the passions and patience is a thousand miles."

Omar, who tried to find fault with Ali's eagerness for leadership, had in mind his own leadership. He was comparing it with his own ideas, and ignored all the Qur'anic injunctions when he was in charge, all for the price of leadership. However, in Ali's eyes, leadership was something other than what Omar had in mind; its horizon was vast, and the decision of the people had nothing to do with it.

The Sermon of Imam Ali after the Demise of the Prophet in Response to ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān

If Ali had sought profane leadership, he would have done it by means of the sword immediately after the demise of the Prophet, for he had enough power to do so. However, as he sensed that this would put Islam in danger, he ignored it and tolerated it with patience, even though he was choked with anger and very depressed.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has written that when the Migrants swore allegiance to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān went to Medina, where he frequently said:

أَمَا وَاللهِ إِنِّي لَأَرَى عَجَاجَةً لَا يُطْفِئُهَا إِلَّا الدَّمُ، يَا لَعَبْدِ مَنَافٍ! فِيمَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ مِنْ أُمُورِكُمْ؟! أَيْنَ الْمُسْتَضْعَفَانِ؟ أَيْنَ الْأَذَلَّانِ؟ أَيْنَ الْأَذَلَّانِ؟ يَعْنِي عَلِيًّا وَالْعَبَّاسَ. مَا بَالُ هَذَا فِي أَقَلِّ حَيٍّ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ.

> By God, I notice a state of gloom, as if the sky were covered with dust. Nothing can clear it but the shedding of blood. O family of ʿAbd Manāf! What is Abū Bakr's business in your affairs? Where are those two [i.e., Ali and ʿAbbās] who are considered weak? Where are those two who have been put aside and humiliated? What has happened to put governance at the disposal of the lowly tribes of the Quraysh?

He then said to Ali:

ابْسُطْ يَدَكَ اُبَايِعْكَ، فَوَاللهِ إِنْ شِئْتَ لَأَمْلَأَنَّهَا عَلَى أَبِي فُصَيْلٍ - يَعْنِي أَبَا بَكْرٍ - خَيْلًا وَرَجِلًا، فَامْتَنَعَ عَلَيْهِ عَلِيٌّ (ع) فَلَمَّا يَئِسَ مِنْهُ قَامَ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ يُنْشِدُ شِعْرَ الْمُتَلَمِّسِ:

وَلَا يُقِيمُ عَلَى ضَيْمٍ يُرَادُ بِهِ إِلَّا الْأَذَلَّانِ عَيْرُ الْحَيِّ وَالْوَتَدُ
هَذَا عَلَى الْخَسْفِ مَرْبُوطٌ بِرُمَّتِهِ وَذَا يُشَجُّ فَلَا يَرْثِي لَهُ أَحَدُ[108]

"(O Ali) reach out your hand so that I may swear allegiance to you. By God, if it is your wish, I can equip a great many fighters, and fill the entire town with an army to fight Abū Bakr!"

[Ali turned down Abū Sufyān's offer, and seeing that Abū Sufyān was disappointed, he stood up and recited the elegy of Mutalammis.]

> No one resist the oppression that befalls him, except two obedient and humiliated ones: One is the donkey of the tribe, and the other is a peg to which its bridle is tied. However, this donkey is tied up with a rope for its excessive shortcomings; they have tied the rope around its neck! And the wooden peg was broken by too much hammering, yet no one cries or mourns for it!

Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr have narrated how Ali disappointed Abū Sufyān by saying:

أَنَّكَ وَاللهِ مَا أَرَدْتَ بِهَذَا إِلَّا الْفِتْنَةَ وَإِنَّكَ وَاللهِ طَالَمَا بَغَيْتَ لِلْإِسْلَامِ شَرًّا، لَا حَاجَةَ لَنَا فِي نُصْحِكَ.[109]

"By God, with your proposal you have nothing in mind but corruption and sedition. You have been trying to practice your evil against Islam for a long time, and we do not need any advice of yours."

In addition to Abū Sufyān, ʿAbbās, the Prophet's cousin, also went to Ali, and said: "I have come to swear allegiance to you. From now on, they will say that the uncle of the Prophet has paid homage to the Prophet's cousin, so that there would then remain no two persons to oppose each other."

Ibn Qutayba Dīnavarī has written that Ali said to him:

قَالَ الْعَبَّاسُ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ كَرَّمَ اللهُ وَجْهَهُ: ابْسُطْ يَدَكَ اُبَايِعْكَ، فَيَقُولُ: عَمُّ رَسُولِ اللهِ بَايَعَ ابْنَ عَمِّ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ، وَيُبَايِعُكَ أَهْلُ بَيْتِكَ فَإِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِذَا كَانَ لَمْ يَقُلْ قَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ كَرَّمَ اللهُ وَجْهَهُ: وَمَنْ يَطْلُبُ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ غَيْرُنَا؟![110]

"What! Is there anyone besides us to claim the imamate?"

Although Ali knew that the caliphate and leadership were his right, and no one else's, but for the sake of God and the will of the

Prophet he did not claim it, because he knew that it would cause disarray among the people and damage the newly established religion of Islam. So he overlooked his absolute right.

This is a solid example of generosity, devotion, servitude, bravery, courage, gentleness, and forgiveness, and the meaning of leadership, guardianship, and liberty.

Ibn Qutayba says:

When they took Ali to the mosque to pay allegiance, he said:

أَنَا أَحَقُّ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ لَا أُبَايِعُكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ أَوْلَى بِالْبَيْعَةِ لِي، أَخَذْتُمْ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ، وَاحْتَجَجْتُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالْقَرَابَةِ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ وَتَأْخُذُونَهُ مِنَّا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ غَصْباً.

أَلَسْتُمْ زَعَمْتُمْ لِلْأَنْصَارِ أَنَّكُمْ أَوْلَى بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مِنْهُمْ، لِمَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ مِنْكُمْ، فَأَعْطَوْكُمُ الْمَقَادَةَ، وَسَلَّمُوا إِلَيْكُمُ الْإِمْرَةَ؟ وَأَنَا أَحْتَجُّ عَلَيْكُمْ بِمِثْلِ مَا احْتَجَجْتُمْ بِهِ عَلَى الْأَنْصَارِ. نَحْنُ أَوْلَى بِرَسُولِ اللهِ حَيّاً وَمَيِّتاً، فَأَنْصِفُونَا إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ، وَإِلَّا فَبُوءُوا بِالظُّلْمِ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ.

فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: إِنَّكَ لَسْتَ مَتْرُوكاً حَتَّى تُبَايِعَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: احْلُبْ حَلَباً لَكَ شَطْرُهُ، وَاشْدُدْ لَهُ الْيَوْمَ أَمْرَهُ يَرْدُدْهُ عَلَيْكَ غَداً. ثُمَّ قَالَ: وَاللهِ يَا عُمَرُ لَا أَقْبَلُ قَوْلَكَ وَلَا أُبَايِعُهُ، فَقَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ: فَإِنْ لَمْ تُبَايِعْ فَلَا أُكْرِهُكَ.[111]

> I am the slave of God and the brother of the Prophet. [They told him to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr, and he said:] I deserve the caliphate and leadership more than you do, so I will not pay homage to Abū Bakr! It is you who are going to swear allegiance to me! You took away the caliphate and leadership from the Helpers, and your only excuse was that you were of the relatives of the Prophet, but in truth, you usurped the caliphate from us, the Household! Did you not pretend to the Helpers that you had more right to the caliphate than they, just because Muhammad belonged to your tribe? And did he entrust authority to you only for this reason, and put everything at your disposal? And now, I will speak of you as you did with the Helpers, and in the same way that you did with me. Nonetheless, neither during the Prophet's lifetime nor after his demise were you more deserving in his sight than we. So if you believe, judge with fairness; if you do not judge with fairness, you will be considered the oppressor.

At that, Omar said: "They will not let you go until you pay homage." Ali responded:

> O Omar! You try to suck a breast from which you might benefit, and strengthen the caliphate of Abū Bakr so that you may take it in the future. [Then he added:] O Omar, by God, I do not accept your word, and I do not swear allegiance to Abū Bakr!

On hearing what Ali had to say, Abū Bakr said: "In that case, if you do not swear allegiance, I will force you to do so."

It is quite clear to the historians and narrators that if Ali had accepted the allegiance of both ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān, and then, together with those of the Helpers, Migrants, and Banī Hāshim who had joined him, had opposed the Saqīfa and struggled to take the government, it would not have been easy, and would have ended with bloodshed. In such a case, opposition would have risen against them, and there would have been war, and then, those who had memorized the Qurʾan in order to preserve it might have been killed. Therefore, Ali gave up his absolute right only for the sake of God. He voluntarily gave up a temporary honor for the sake of God and His religion, even though Fāṭimah was tortured and died, and the children were orphaned. He did this in order to save Islam after the Prophet's twenty-three years of toil.

By his answer to Abū Sufyān and ʿAbbās's advice, at the very time when the Prophet was passing away, Ali's aim becomes quite clear:

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، شُقُّوا أَمْوَاجَ الْفِتَنِ بِسُفُنِ النَّجَاةِ، وَعَرِّجُوا عَنْ طَرِيقِ الْمُنَافَرَةِ، وَضَعُوا عَنْ تِيجَانِ الْمُفَاخَرَةِ، أَفْلَحَ مَنْ نَهَضَ بِجَنَاحٍ، أَوِ اسْتَسْلَمَ فَأَرَاحَ، هَذَا مَاءٌ آجِنٌ وَلُقْمَةٌ يَغَصُّ بِهَا آكِلُهَا، وَمُجْتَنِي الثَّمَرَةِ لِغَيْرِ وَقْتِ إِينَاعِهَا كَالزَّارِعِ بِغَيْرِ أَرْضِهِ.

فَإِنْ أَقُلْ يَقُولُوا: حَرَصَ عَلَى الْمُلْكِ، وَإِنْ أَسْكُتْ يَقُولُوا جَزِعَ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ، هَيْهَاتَ بَعْدَ اللَّتَيَّا وَالَّتِي، وَ اللهِ لَابْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ آنَسُ بِالْمَوْتِ مِنَ الطِّفْلِ بِثَدْيِ أُمِّهِ، بَلِ انْدَمَجْتُ عَلَى مَكْنُونِ عِلْمٍ لَوْ بُحْتُ بِهِ لَاضْطَرَبْتُمُ اضْطِرَابَ الْأَرْشِيَةِ فِي الطَّوِيِّ الْبَعِيدَةِ.[112]

> O people! Break away from the waves of sedition in the rescuing boats on the choppy sea! And change your direction to the straight path, away from the path of sedition, haughtiness, and pride. Take off and throw away the crowns of pride belonging to the oppressors. Salvation and victory come to the one who either rises up with the help of the wide-open wings of his supporters to protect him, or remains silent in a dispute and brings peace.

This fragile and momentary caliphate that you invite me to is like putrid water, with no good taste or smell, and is unpleasant to drink. It is like a morsel of food that sticks in the throat of whoever eats it and chokes him. The agents of this caliphate are like those who pick the green fruit that is bitter to eat, or farmers who plant in a barren land, from which it is clear that they cannot benefit.

Therefore, if I say one word to claim the caliphate, they will say: "There! His intention proves his greed for leadership!" And if I keep my mouth closed and say nothing, they will say: "He is timid; he is afraid of death!"

Far be it from me! Because I have faced so many troubles and suffered hardships, these kinds of accusations are far from me (like a man who has married a bad-tempered short wife, and when she has spoiled his pleasure, divorces her and marries another, even more bad-tempered, tall woman, who spoils his pleasure even more, and he ends up divorcing them both). By God, the son of Abī Ṭālib is more eager for death than a child for the breast of its mother! I have been enclosed in these facts, and if I open my mouth to speak, you will be let loose like a rope falling into a well.

Here we see that Ali, with such great divine knowledge, explains this attitude of greediness for the guardianship, contrary to what the short-sighted accuse him of, without understanding the facts.

The Shiqshiqīyah Sermon by the Master of the Faithful during His Caliphate

In the Sermon of the Shiqshiqīyah, he relates this more clearly. He says: "By God, Who is the Splitter of the seed and the grain, the Restorer of the spirit." He reminds us that his acceptance of the caliphate is only to stop the aggressors' oppression of the rights of innocent people. It can be understood from the text that the sermon was after the first three caliphates:

أَمَا وَاللهِ لَقَدْ تَقَمَّصَهَا ابْنَ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ وَإِنَّهُ لَيَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مَحَلِّي مِنْهَا مَحَلُّ الْقُطْبِ مِنَ الرَّحَى، يَنْحَدِرُ عَنِّي السَّيْلُ، وَلَا يَرْقَى إِلَيَّ الطَّيْرُ، فَسَدَلْتُ دُونَهَا ثَوْبًا وَطَوَيْتُ عَنْهَا كَشْحًا، وَطَفِقْتُ أَرْتَأِي بَيْنَ أَنْ أَصُولَ بِيَدٍ جَذَّاءَ أَوْ أَصْبِرَ عَلَى طِخْيَةٍ عَمْيَاءَ يَهْرَمُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرُ، وَيَشِيبُ فِيهَا الصَّغِيرُ، وَيَكْدَحُ فِيهَا مُؤْمِنٌ حَتَّى يَلْقَى رَبَّهُ، فَرَأَيْتُ أَنَّ الصَّبْرَ عَلَى هَاتَا أَحْجَى، فَصَبَرْتُ وَفِي الْعَيْنِ قَذًى وَفِي الْحَلْقِ شَجًى. أَرَى تُرَاثِي نَهْبًا. حَتَّى مَضَى الْأَوَّلُ لِسَبِيلِهِ، فَأَدْلَى بِهَا إِلَى ابْنِ الْخَطَّابِ بَعْدَهُ (ثُمَّ تَمَثَّلَ بِقَوْلِ الْأَعْشَى):

شَتَّانَ مَا يَوْمِي عَلَى كُورِهَا وَيَوْمُ حَيَّانَ أَخِي جَابِرِ

فَيَا عَجَبًا بَيْنَا هُوَ يَسْتَعْطِفُهَا فِي حَيَاتِهِ إِذْ عَقَدَهَا لِآخَرَ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ لَشَدَّ مَا تَشَطَّرَا ضَرْعَيْهَا. فَصَيَّرَهَا فِي حَوْزَةٍ خَشْنَاءَ يَغْلُظُ كَلْمُهَا، وَيَخْشُنُ مَسُّهَا، وَيَكْثُرُ الْعِثَارُ فِيهَا وَالْاِعْتِذَارُ مِنْهَا. فَصَاحِبُهَا كَرَاكِبِ الصَّعْبَةِ إِنْ أَشْنَقَ لَهَا خَرَمَ، وَإِنْ أَسْلَسَ لَهَا تَقَحَّمَ فَمُنِيَ النَّاسُ لَعَمْرُ اللهِ بِخَبْطٍ وَشِمَاسٍ وَتَلَوُّنٍ وَاعْتِرَاضٍ. فَصَبَرْتُ عَلَى طُولِ الْمُدَّةِ وَشِدَّةِ الْمِحْنَةِ حَتَّى إِذَا مَضَى لِسَبِيلِهِ، جَعَلَهَا فِي جَمَاعَةٍ زَعَمَ أَنِّي أَحَدُهُمْ. فَيَا لِلهِ وَلِلشُّورَى، مَتَى اعْتَرَضَ الرَّيْبُ فِيَّ مَعَ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْهُمْ حَتَّى صِرْتُ أُقْرَنُ إِلَى هَذِهِ النَّظَائِرِ، لَكِنِّي أَسْفَفْتُ إِذْ أَسَفُّوا وَطِرْتُ إِذْ طَارُوا.

فَصَغَى رَجُلٌ مِنْهُمْ لِضِغْنِهِ، وَمَالَ الْآخَرُ لِصِهْرِهِ، مَعَ هَنٍ وَهَنٍ، إِلَى أَنْ قَامَ ثَالِثُ الْقَرْنِ نَافِجًا حِضْنَيْهِ بَيْنَ نَثِيلِهِ وَمُعْتَلَفِهِ، وَقَامَ مَعَهُ بَنُو أَبِيهِ يَخْضِمُونَ مَالَ اللهِ خَضْمَةَ الْإِبِلِ نِبْتَةَ الرَّبِيعِ، إِلَى أَنِ انْتَكَثَ فَتْلُهُ، وَأَجْهَزَ عَلَيْهِ عَمَلُهُ، وَكَبَتْ بِهِ بِطْنَتُهُ فَمَا رَاعَنِي إِلَّا وَالنَّاسُ كَعُرْفِ الضَّبُعِ إِلَيَّ، يَنْثَالُونَ عَلَيَّ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ، حَتَّى لَقَدْ وُطِئَ الْحَسَنَانِ، وَشُقَّ عِطْفَايَ، مُجْتَمِعِينَ حَوْلِي كَرَبِيضَةِ الْغَنَمِ. فَلَمَّا نَهَضْتُ بِالْأَمْرِ نَكَثَتْ طَائِفَةٌ وَمَرَقَتْ أُخْرَى وَقَسَطَ آخَرُونَ، كَأَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَسْمَعُوا كَلَامَ اللهِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ:

تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فَسَادًا وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ

بَلَى وَاللهِ لَقَدْ سَمِعُوهَا وَوَعَوْهَا وَلَكِنَّهُمْ حَلِيَتِ الدُّنْيَا فِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ وَرَاقَهُمْ زِبْرِجُهَا. أَمَا وَالَّذِي فَلَقَ الْحَبَّةَ وَبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ لَوْلَا حُضُورُ الْحَاضِرِ، وَقِيَامُ الْحُجَّةِ بِوُجُودِ النَّاصِرِ، وَمَا أَخَذَ اللهُ عَلَى الْعُلَمَاءِ أَنْ لَا يُقَارُّوا عَلَى كِظَّةِ ظَالِمٍ وَلَا سَغَبِ مَظْلُومٍ لَأَلْقَيْتُ حَبْلَهَا عَلَى غَارِبِهَا، وَلَسَقَيْتُ آخِرَهَا بِكَأْسِ أَوَّلِهَا، وَلَأَلْفَيْتُمْ دُنْيَاكُمْ هَذِهِ أَزْهَدَ عِنْدِي مِنْ عَفْطَةِ عَنْزٍ!

وَقَامَ إِلَيْهِ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ السَّوَادِ عِنْدَ بُلُوغِهِ إِلَى هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ مِنْ خُطْبَتِهِ فَنَاوَلَهُ كِتَابًا فَأَقْبَلَ يَنْظُرُ فِيهِ. فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ - رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمَا -: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَوْ اطَّرَدْتَ خُطْبَتَكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَفْضَيْتَ؟ فَقَالَ: هَيْهَاتَ يَا ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ، تِلْكَ شِقْشِقَةٌ هَدَرَتْ ثُمَّ قَرَّتْ.

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَوَاللهِ مَا أَسِفْتُ عَلَى كَلَامٍ قَطُّ كَأَسَفِي عَلَى هَذَا الْكَلَامِ أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (ع) بَلَغَ مِنْهُ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ[113]

Be aware that, by God, the son of Abū Quḥāfah [Abū Bakr] dressed himself with it [the caliphate], and he certainly knew that my position in relation to it was the same as that of the axis to the hand-mill. The flood water flows down from me, and the bird cannot fly up to me. I placed a curtain before the caliphate and kept myself detached from it.

Then I began to ponder whether I should fight or calmly endure the blinding darkness of tribulations wherein the fully grown are made feeble and the young grow old, and the true believer acts under strain until he meets God [upon his death]. Thereupon I found that endurance was wiser. So I adopted patience, although there was a pricking in the eye and a suffocation [of mortification] in the throat. I watched the plundering of my inheritance until the first one went his way, but handed the caliphate to Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb after him.

(He then quotes al-Aʿshā's verse).

> My days are now passed on the camel's back [in hardship], while there were days [of ease] when I enjoyed the company of Jābir's brother, Ḥayyān.

It is strange that during his lifetime he wished to be released from the caliphate

وَاقِيلُونِي اقِيلُونِي فَلَسْتُ بِمُتْرِكُ وَعَلِيٌّ فِيكُمْ[114]

but he confirmed it for the other after his death. No doubt these two shared its udders strictly among themselves. This one put the caliphate in a tough enclosure where speech was haughty and the touch was rough. Mistakes were plentiful, and so also their excuses. Whoever was in contact with it was like the rider of an unruly camel. If he pulled up the rein, the very nostril would be slit, but if he let it loose, he would be thrown. Consequently, by God, people became involved in recklessness, wickedness, unsteadiness, and deviation.

Nevertheless, I remained patient despite that lengthy period and the stiffness of the trial, until when he went his way [to death]. At the end of his life, he put the matter [of the caliphate] into the hands of a group, and regarded me as one of them. But good heavens! What had I to do with that consultation, when there was no doubt about my being the first among them, in which I was now considered equal to the others? In those conditions I had to swim with the stream, remaining low when they were low, and flying high when they flew high.

One of them turned against me because of his hatred towards me, another inclined the other way because of his in-law relationship, and one thing led to another until the third man amongst them stood up with heaving breast between his dung and fodder. Along with him were the children from his grandfather [the Omayyads], and he also rose up, swallowing God's wealth like a camel devouring the foliage of spring, until his rope broke, his devilish actions finished him, and his gluttony brought him down prostrate.

At that moment, nothing surprised me like the crowd of people rushing to me. They rushed to me from every side, like the mane of the hyena, so much so that Hasan and Husayn were getting crushed, and both ends of my shoulder-garment were torn. They gathered around me like a herd of sheep and goats.

When I took up the reins of government, one party broke away and another turned disobedient, while the rest began acting wrongfully, as if they had not heard the word of God saying: *That Abode of the Hereafter We shall give to those who seek not oppression in the earth, nor yet corruption: and the outcome is best for the righteous* (28:83).

Yes, by God, they have heard these words and understood them well, yet the world appeared glittering in their eyes, and its embellishments seduced them.

Behold, by God, Who split the grain [to grow] and created all beings, if people had not come to me, and supporters had not exhausted the argument, and if there had been no pledge between God and the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the greed of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast the rope around the caliphate, and would have given the last one the same treatment as the first. Then you would have seen that, in my view, this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat.

It is said that when Ali reached this point in his sermon, a man of Iraq stood up and handed him a letter, and Ali cast a glance at it.

Then Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "O Master of the Faithful, I bid you continue your sermon from where you broke off." Thereupon Ali replied: "O Ibn ᶜAbbās, it was like the foam of a camel that gushed out but subsided."[115]

Ibn ᶜAbbās said that he had never grieved over any sermon as he did over this one, because Ali did not finish it as he would have liked.

One of the common objections to Ali's leadership was that prophethood and the caliphate could not coexist in a single family. Therefore, as both the Prophet and Ali were from the same family, Ali could not be caliph. As prophethood was Muhammad's absolute right, the caliphate could not devolve upon Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has said that another tribe gave a reason for Ali's not having the caliphate: They said that it would not be fair, because both prophethood and the caliphate in a single family would engender self-importance towards the people.[116]

After investigating various histories and hadiths, we have found that this view originated with Abū Bakr and Omar, who were the first to say such a thing. Yet they had already claimed to be close relatives

of the Prophet in the Saqīfa Banī Sāʿidah in order to prevail over the Helpers, in response to Ḥubāb Ibn Munzdhar's sermon in which he spoke of the nobility and priority of the Helpers, saying that on the whole, it is unfair for the prophethood and the caliphate to be shared between two families, and the caliphate should remain in the line of prophethood. In the Saqīfa, in the presence of some of the Helpers, Abū Bakr, Abū Obaydah Jarrāḥ, Muʿādh Ibn Jabal, and a large number of the Helpers, such as Saʿd Ibn ʿIbādah, the Chief of the Aus Tribe, and Bashīr Saʿd, a great man of the Khazraj Tribe, who spoke of the priorities of the Helpers, he delivered a sermon in which he said:

فَأَنْتُمْ أَعْظَمُ النَّاسِ نَصِيباً فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، وَإِنْ أَبَى الْقَوْمُ فَمِنَّا أَمِيرٌ وَمِنْهُمْ أَمِيرٌ.

"So you deserve more in the matter of the caliphate. But if the Quraysh and the shaykhs among the Helpers refuse it, then let there be an emir from amongst us, and another emir from the Migrants."

Then Omar stood up and said:

فَقَامَ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ: هَيْهَاتَ لَا يَجْتَمِعُ سَيْفَانِ فِي غِمْدٍ وَاحِدٍ، وَأَنَّهُ وَاللهِ لَا يَرْضَى الْعَرَبُ أَنْ تُؤَمِّرَكُمْ وَ نَبِيُّهَا مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ، وَلَكِنَّ الْعَرَبَ لَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ تَوَلَّى هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَتِ النُّبُوَّةُ فِيهِمْ وَاوْلُوا الْأَمْرِ مِنْهُمْ.

لَنَا بِذَلِكَ عَلَى مَنْ خَالَفَنَا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ الْحُجَّةُ الظَّاهِرَةُ وَالسُّلْطَانُ الْمُبِينُ، مَنْ يُنَازِعُنَا سُلْطَانَ مُحَمَّدٍ وَ مِيرَاثَهُ وَنَحْنُ أَوْلِيَاؤُهُ وَعَشِيرَتُهُ إِلَّا مُدْلٍ بِبَاطِلٍ، أَوْ مُجَانِفٍ لِإِثْمٍ، أَوْ مُتَوَرِّطٍ فِي هَلَكَةٍ؟![117]

Far be it! It is rare, for two swords cannot be placed in one scabbard! By God, the Arabs are not pleased to have an emir from amongst you, while their Prophet is from another tribe. It is true that the Arabs do not approve of the caliphate and the imamate being in one tribe without the prophethood also, as well as those in authority and governance, rather than belonging to others.

In our words there are concrete proofs to oppose the Arabs who are against us and argue with us. Who dares fight us, a mighty people with the leadership of the Sultan Muhammad, to whom we are related through his own tribe? Only those with a false claim dare do this, or who have ignored justice and seek falsehood, or have fallen in the putrid lagoon of destruction.

In the presence of Abū Bakr, with his written and signed letter of permission, Omar spoke thus, and encouraged the Helpers to pay

homage to the Quraysh, to whom he thought Abū Bakr and he himself belonged.

Now, we see that the same Omar and Abū Bakr are reproached by Ali, when he says:

> You are betrayers; you claimed to be close relatives of the Prophet; you have distorted the facts; you have secretly and cunningly drawn the attention of the people to yourselves so that they elect you. In fact, we are the fruits of this tree, but not you; it is we who are the Household of the Messenger of God, and God has sent down the Verse of Purification for us and our house—and the Qur'an itself was sent down for our sake.

They answered: "Prophethood and the caliphate cannot join together, and it is unpleasant to the Arabs."

Abū Bakr also invented a false hadith from the Prophet, to which Omar and his companions Abū ʿUbaydah, Sālim Mawlā Ḥudhayfah, and Muʿādh bear witness, where he claims that the Prophet said:

اُفٌّ لَكُمْ وَلِمَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ، وَاُفٌّ لَكُمْ وَلِمَا تَكْذِبُونَ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ مُتَعَمِّداً، وَقَدْ قَالَ (ص): مَنْ كَذَبَ عَلَيَّ مُتَعَمِّداً فَلْيَتَبَوَّءْ مَقْعَدُهُ مِنَ النَّارِ.[118]

"Woe upon you for what you worship besides God, and woe upon you for whatever lies you deliberately tell against the Messenger of God. Whoever lies about me, may his bottom burn in the Fire!"

Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī has narrated this from the Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī, a well-known and reliable book, and it appears in other books on history. He also relates a long and detailed account of how they took Ali to the mosque to pay homage to Abū Bakr, and how Ali argued with them. He writes: "Then Ali opened his mouth and uttered: 'O company of Muslims, Helpers, and Migrants, I take you on oath to God. Did you hear what the Prophet said on the Day of Ghadīr? Above all, did you not hear what he said at Ghazwah Tabūk?'"

Ali relayed all the statements of the Prophet to the people one by one, and whatever the Prophet had told him he expressed to the nation. Almost all of them agreed. In the meantime, as Abū Bakr was afraid that the people might break their covenant with him and help Ali, he took the lead and said:

> All that you say is correct, for with these ears of ours we heard the Messenger of God, and understood well. His words captured our hearts, yet later I myself heard the Prophet say:

إِنَّا أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ اصْطَفَانَا اللهُ تَعَالَى وَاخْتَارَ لَنَا الْآخِرَةَ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا، فَإِنَّ اللهَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَجْمَعَ لَنَا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ النُّبُوَّةَ وَالْخِلَافَةَ

"Indeed, we are the same Household that God, the Honorable and Exalted, has chosen, and He has assigned the Hereafter for us, and made it preferable to us than this world. But God has not appointed for us both the prophethood and the caliphate together."

Ali asked Abū Bakr: "Do you bear witness that this hadith is from the Prophet, and that your companions heard it as well?" Then Omar said: "The Prophet's caliph is right. I too heard the Prophet say so." Abū ʿUbaydah and Sālim, the stepson of Ḥudhayfah, and Maʿāz Ibn Jabal, also said: "We too have heard it from the Messenger of God." Then Ali said: "Thus, you have remained loyal to the paper you wrote and signed in Mecca that states: 'If Muhammad passes away or is killed, we will not allow the caliphate to continue in his family.'"[119]

One of the false hadiths they would often refer to is

نَحْنُ مَعَاشِرَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ لَا نُوَرِّثُ دِرْهَمًا وَلَا دِينَارًا، مَا تَرَكْنَاهُ فَهُوَ صَدَقَةٌ

"We, the company of the prophets, do not inherit even one dirham; what we leave behind is for charity." The relater of this hadith is none other than Abū Bakr, who usurped the Fadak from Fāṭimah.

Another is

أَصْحَابِي كَالنُّجُومِ بِأَيِّهِمْ اقْتَدَيْتُمْ اهْتَدَيْتُمْ

which means: "My companions are as stars; every one of them guides you if only you knew," which is merely a lie, as is its attribution to the Prophet.

The clearest evidence that the hadith about not having both prophethood and the caliphate in the Household is false and clearly invented is that it contradicts the Holy Qurʾan and the authentic hadiths attributed to the Prophet.

Ibn ʿAbbās's Response to Omar Concerning the Disunity of Prophethood and the Caliphate

Regarding the events in the twenty-third year of the Migration, Ṭabarī has written that Omar took some of the great men from among the Prophet's companions, and a few well-known people such as ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, with him on a journey to Shām. However, Ali turned down his invitation, and did not accompany him. Then a man quoted one of the sons of Ṭalḥah as saying that Ibn ʿAbbās had said:

Most of the time, I accompanied Omar on the journeys he used to take. One night, as we were heading forward, my camel and his were side by side, when he gently whipped the camel on the hump and hummed this poem:

كَذَبْتُمْ وَبَيْتِ اللهِ يُقْتَلُ أَحْمَدُ وَلَمَّا نُطَاعِنْ دُونَهُ وَنُنَاضِلِ
وَنُسْلِمُهُ حَتَّى نُصَرَّعَ حَوْلَهُ وَنَذْهَلَ عَنْ أَبْنَائِنَا وَالْحَلَائِلِ.

I swear by the sanctity of the House of God that you are lying (by saying) that Muhammad dies without our throwing spears at one another, and that for his safety we should avoid the throwing of spears!

And you are lying (by saying) that we are to hand over Muhammad to you without sacrificing our souls and being killed, and falling on the ground close to him, and also casting out our women and children!

[This section of poetry is from Abū Ṭālib, the grandfather of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, who composed it against the wishes of the disbelieving Quraysh, who had it in mind to kill the Prophet.]

After reciting these two lines of the poem, he declared: "I seek the forgiveness of God," and continued his way. He kept silent for a while, and then went on reciting:

وَمَا حَمَلَتْ مِنْ نَاقَةٍ فَوْقَ رَحْلِهَا أَبَرَّ وَأَوْفَى ذِمَّةً مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَأَكْسَى لِبُرْدِ الْحَالِ[120] قَبْلَ ابْتِذَالِهِ وَأَعْطَى لِرَأْسِ السَّابِقِ الْمُتَجَرِّدِ.

Never has a camel carried on its saddle a better man, more generous and faithful in his promises than Muhammad; (nor carried) one wearing the Yemeni garb, the garb that, before wearing thin, was a good garment, and freely gave away his speedy horse, which always won the race.

Then he declared: "I seek the forgiveness of God! O son of ʿAbbās, what prevented Ali from traveling with us?" I answered: "I know nothing about it." And he said: "Your father, ʿAbbās, is the uncle of the Prophet, and you are the Prophet's cousin, so why did your relative prevent you from having the caliphate?" "I do not know," I answered. He then said: "But I know that your relatives, the Quraysh, did not want your leadership over them." I asked: "So what is the reason for their doing so, since in their sight we are their foundations?" He replied:

اللّٰهُمَّ غَفْراً، يَكْرَهُونَ أَنْ تَجْتَمِعَ فِيكُمُ النُّبُوَّةُ وَالْخِلَافَةُ فَيَكُونَ بَجَاجَكُمَا.[121]

"O my Creator! I ask for Your forgiveness. The Quraysh did not want to see you with prophethood and the caliphate at the same time, and for it to be a cause of pride and haughtiness amongst you!"

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd reports this event from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said:

And you may say Abū Bakr was the main cause of this event. But I say no, by God, Abū Bakr did his best, and acted in a most pleasant way in this affair. And if he had transferred the leadership and the caliphate to you, even with your closeness, it would not benefit you. Now, recite this poem of Zuhayr, the poet, who says:

إِذَا ابْتَدَرَتْ قَيْسُ بْنُ عَيْلَانَ غَايَةً مِنَ الْمَجْدِ مَنْ يَسْبِقْ إِلَيْهَا يَسُوَّدِ.

When Qays Ibn ᶜAylān has it in mind to achieve the greatest nobility in the race, then the one who gets there sooner receives the prize of lordship and mastership.

Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "I read this elegy to him, and then the sun rose, and he told me: 'Recite to me the Surah of the Event (*al-Wāqiᶜa*),' and I did so. Then he dismounted from his camel and said the morning prayer, reciting the same surah in his prayer."[122]

And Ṭabarī has related from ᶜIkrimah that Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

When Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb and some of his companions were discussing poetry, some said: "So-and-So is the most talented among all the poets," and others said: "Perhaps this other one is better." In the meantime I entered the room, and Omar said: "This new arrival might be better than all the poets."

Omar asked: "O ᶜAbbās, who is the best among the poets?" I answered: "Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmī." Omar said: "Recite a little of his poetry for us to see if you are telling the truth." In the poem I chose to recite, Zuhayr was praising the tribe of Banī ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ghaṭfān, and I began:

1 لَوْكَانَ يَقْعُدُ فَوْقَ الشَّمْسِ مِنْ كَرَمٍ قَوْمٌ بِأَوَّلِهِمْ أَوْ مَجْدِهِمْ قَعَدُوا

2 قَوْمٌ أَبُوهُمْ سِنَانٌ حِينَ تَسْبُهُمْ طَابُوا وَطَابَ مِنَ الْاَوْلَادِ مَا وَلَدُوا

3 إِنْسٌ إِذَا آمِنُوا جِنٌّ إِذَا فَزِعُوا مُرْزَّؤُنَ بِهَا لِيلٌ إِذَا حَشَدُوا

4 مُحْسَدُونَ عَلَى مَا كَانَ مِنْ نِعَمٍ لَا يَنْزِعُ اللّٰهُ مِنْهُمْ مَا لَهُ حُسِدُوا.

1. If one, through generosity, could sit on the sun, (then he would be like) the tribe of Ghaṭfān, for they are such that, for their tap root and original nobility, they are the first to sit on the sun.
2. They are such a tribe that if you want to find their pedigree, their father is Sanān, whose offspring, and all the people of the tribe, are pure and honest.
3. In times of peace, they become friendly and familiar; and when they are in fright, they remain in the shelters. When they are called for a matter, they respond at once—they act with generosity, and like the masters and sayyids, they hasten to do good.
4. Because of their affluence and God's blessings, they are envied; may He not remove that which makes the people jealous of them!

Omar's Confession That Imam Ali Was Right to Take the Caliphate

When Omar heard this poem, he said: "He has composed it beautifully; I do not see anyone who deserves this other than this assembly of the Banī Hāshim. It is but for the superiority and virtue of the Prophet and their closeness to him."

Ibn ʿAbbās then reports that he said: "O Emir of the Faithful, you agree to this peace, and I wish you success forever!" And Omar said: "O son of ʿAbbās, do you know why, after Muhammad, your tribe banned you from the caliphate?" Ibn ʿAbbās thought it would be unpleasant to answer him, and so he said: "I expect Omar, the Emir of the Faithful, will inform me of it." So Omar said:

قَالَ عُمَرُ: كَرِهُوا أَنْ يَجْمَعُوا لَكُمُ النُّبُوَّةَ وَالْخِلَافَةَ فَتَجَحَّفُوا عَلَى قَوْمِكُمْ بِجَاجًا، فَاخْتَارَتْ قُرَيْشٌ لِأَنْفُسِهَا فَأَصَابَتْ وَوُفِّقَتْ.

"Your tribe did not wish to see your family become proud by having both the prophethood and the caliphate at the same time; therefore the Quraysh took the lead and chose a caliph, and succeeded in what they were after."

Ibn ʿAbbās reports that he then said: "O Emir of the Faithful, if you let me speak and you control your anger towards me, I might say something." Omar said: "O son of ʿAbbās, say what you will." So he said:

The answer to your claim that the Quraysh chose their own caliph, and succeeded in what they wanted, is that if they had chosen the same man that God, the Honorable and Exalted, had assigned for them, then they would have done the right thing and would succeed, and it would not be rejected and envied by the people. But as for your other claim that the

Quraysh did not wish to see the prophethood and the caliphate in our family at the same time, the answer is that God frustrates the actions of a group with whom He is displeased, as He states:[123]

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَرِهُوا مَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالَهُمْ

That is because they are averse to that which God has revealed, so He makes their actions fruitless (47:9).

"Far be it!" Omar said. "O son of ᶜAbbās, I wish you knew the ugly things about you they have reported to me. If I were to tell you, you would be humiliated and lose your self-respect in front of me!" Ibn ᶜAbbās asked: "Then, what is that, O Emir of the Faithful? If it is correct, then I deserve to be disgraced in front of you; but if it is false, then it shows that I am not a person who commits wrongful things."

Omar said: "I have heard what you say about how they took the caliphate from us, the families of the Banī Hāshim, through envy and by aggression." Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "O Emir of the Faithful! You say 'by aggression,' and it is obvious for everyone to see as clear as crystal. But when you say 'through envy,' this is because the evil of envy is always with man, and we, too, are the children of Adam and subject to envy."

Omar said: "Far be it from you! By God, there is such envy in your hearts, the Banī Hāshim, that it will never be wiped away, and there is everlasting ill-will amongst you!" And he said: "Please calm yourself, O Emir of the Faithful! Do not attribute impurity to the hearts of a tribe that God has purified, because the heart of the Prophet is the heart of this same Banī Hāshim."

Omar said: "O son of ᶜAbbās! Keep away from me!" He answered: "So be it; I will keep away." But as he went to stand up, Omar blushed and said: "Remain seated where you are, for by God, I respect your right, and I wish for that which pleases you!"

Ibn ᶜAbbās then said: "O Emir of the Faithful, you are in fact indebted to me, just as every Muslim is indebted to me! Whoever considers that right, he benefits and wins; but he who ignores it, ruins himself." It was then that Omar stood up and left.[124]

Another witness to our claim is Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ribba Qurṭubī Ondulusi (d. 328 AH), who reported that Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

وَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: مَا شَيْءٌ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ يَوْمًا فَقَالَ لِي: يَا ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ، مَا يَمْنَعُ قَوْمَكُمْ مِنْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ خَاصَّةً؟ قُلْتُ: لَا أَدْرِي، قَالَ: لَكِنِّي أَدْرِي، إِنَّكُمْ فَضَّتُمُوهُمْ بِالنُّبُوَّةِ، فَقَالُوا: إِنْ

فَضَلُوا بِالْخِلَافَةِ مَعَ النُّبوةِ لَمْ يَبْقُوا لَنَا شَيْئاً، وَإِنَّ أَفْضَلَ النَّصِيبَيْنِ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ، بَلْ مَا أَظُنُّهَا إِلَّا مُجْتَمِعَةً لَكُمْ وَإِنْ نَزَلَتْ عَلَى رَغْمِ أَنْفِ قُرَيْشٍ.[125]

Once I was walking with Omar, the son of Khaṭṭāb, and he asked me: "O son of ʿAbbās, what made your tribe shun the foremost of the Prophet's relatives?" To his question, I said that I had no idea. Omar said:

> But I know the reason! It is the question of the prophethood. It happened to be in your family, and it gave you priority over the Quraysh. It was then that the Quraysh thought that if you had taken the caliphate, there would remain nothing for them. In fact, the better part—prophethood—is already with you! Even I was thinking that you would receive the caliphate, though it would be against the wishes of the Quraysh.

Ibn Khaldūn, at the very beginning of his discussion on Shiʿa government, writes:

وَفِيمَا نَقَلَهُ أَهْلُ الْآثَارِ أَنَّ عُمَرَ قَالَ يَوْماً لِابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ: إِنَّ قَوْمَكُمْ - يَعْنِي قُرَيْشاً - مَا أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَجْمَعُوا لَكُمْ - يَعْنِي بَنِي هَاشِمٍ - بَيْنَ النُّبُوَّةِ وَالْخِلَافَةِ فَتَحُوطُوا عَلَيْهِمْ، وَإِنَّ ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ تَكَرَّ ذَلِكَ وَطَلَبَ مِنْ عُمَرَ إِذْنَهُ فِي الْكَلَامِ، فَتَكَلَّمَ بِمَا غَضِبَ لَهُ وَظَهَرَ مِنْ مُحَاوَرَتِهِمَا أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ فِي نُفُوسِ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ شَيْئاً مِنْ أَمْرِ الْخِلَافَةِ وَالْعُدُولِ عَنْهُمْ بِهَا.[126]

> The outcome of what the narrators and historians have related is that on one occasion Omar said to Ibn ʿAbbās: "Your tribe, the Quraysh, did not want to see both the prophethood and the caliphate in your tribe, the Banī Hāshim, so that you might gain precedence over them." Ibn ʿAbbās took Omar's suggestion as a denial, so after asking for his permission to respond, he uttered something that injured Omar's feelings. It was quite clear in their discussion that Omar was well aware that the relatives of the Prophet were trying to get the caliphate back from the usurpers.

Jurji Zaydan wrote:

وَالظَّاهِرُ مِنْ أَقْوَالِ عُمَرَ وَغَيْرِهِ فِي مَوَاقِفَ مُخْتَلِفَةٍ أَنَّهُمْ رَأَوْا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ قَدِ اعْتَزُّوا بِالنُّبُوَّةِ لِأَنَّ النَّبِيَّ مِنْهُمْ، فَلَمْ يَسْتَحْسِنُوا أَنْ يُضِيفُوا إِلَيْهَا الْخِلَافَةَ.[127]

"Whatever statements of Omar and others that are found here and there prove that they saw that the Banī Hāshim had gained power and respect through having prophethood in the tribe, so they did not want them to have the caliphate as well."

What has been mentioned so far is what Omar and Abū Bakr said about the prophethood and the caliphate. The dishonesty involved so far is quite clear, and there is no need to explain it in a separate book. However, to make our claims explicit, we refer to four other sources: the Qurʾan, the traditions, wisdom, and consensus.

Regarding the Qurʾan, we have noticed that when Abū Bakr usurped the caliphate, Buraydah Aslamī was in Shām; and when he returned to Medina and saw that Abū Bakr had taken control, he objected, saying: "Are you not the same person who, by the command of the Prophet, acknowledged the merits of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib?" When he later heard that prophethood and the caliphate could not be united, Buraydah recited the following verse in the mosque:

أَمْ يَحْسُدُونَ النَّاسَ عَلَىٰ مَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِن فَضْلِهِ فَقَدْ آتَيْنَا آلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَآتَيْنَاهُم مُّلْكًا عَظِيمًا

Or do they envy mankind for what God has given them His bounty? But We had already given the house of Abraham the Scripture and wisdom, and conferred upon them a great kingdom (4:54).

In this verse, we can clearly see that God bestows the Scripture and wisdom upon the house of Abraham, that is, prophethood, as well as the highest position, that of the caliphate.

And in the traditions, Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī has recorded through his chains that Ḥudhayfah Yamānī reported the following:

قَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ أَلَا تَسْتَخْلِفُ عَلِيًّا؟ قَالَ: إِنْ تُوَلُّوا عَلِيًّا تَجِدُوهُ هَادِيًا مَهْدِيًّا يَسْلُكُ بِكُمُ الطَّرِيقَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ.[128]

"O Messenger of God, do you not nominate Ali as your successor?" and the Prophet answered: "If you take Ali as your guardian, you will find him to be the best guided, and he will direct you to the straight path."

Abū Nuʿaym has also related through another chain that Ḥudhayfah said that the Prophet stated:

قَالَ: رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ: إِنْ تَسْتَخْلِفُوا عَلِيًّا ـ وَمَا أُرَاكُمْ فَاعِلِينَ ـ تَجِدُوهُ هَادِيًا مَهْدِيًّا يَحْمِلُكُمْ عَلَى الْمَحَجَّةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ.

"If you took Ali as your caliph—which I doubt you will do—you would find him to be a guided leader to direct you to the path of light."

And in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* (of Būkhārī and of Muslim) it is related that Ibn ʿAbbās said:

لَمَّا احْتَضَرَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِهِ) وَسلَّمَ وَفِي الْبَيْتِ رِجَالٌ، مِنْهُمْ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ، قَالَ النَّبِي ـ صلى الله عليه ـ هَلُمَّ أَكْتُبْ لَكُمْ كِتَاباً لَا تَضِلُّونَ بَعْدَهُ. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ ـ صلى الله عليه ـ قَدْ غَلَبَ الْوَجَعُ، وَعِنْدَكُمُ الْقُرْآنُ حَسْبُنَا كِتَابُ اللهِ.

فَاخْتَلَفَ الْقَوْمُ وَاخْتَصَمُوا، فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَقُولُ: قَرِّبُوا إِلَيْهِ يَكْتُبْ لَكُمْ كِتَاباً لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدَهُ، وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَقُولُ: الْقَوْلُ مَا قَالَهُ عُمَرُ.

فَلَمَّا أَكْثَرُوا اللَّغْوَ وَالاخْتِلَافَ عِنْدَهُ عليه السلام قَالَ لَهُمْ: قُومُوا، فَقَامُوا. فَكَانَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ الرَّزِيَّةَ كُلَّ الرَّزِيَّةِ مَا حَالَ بَيْنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ ـ صلى الله عليه ـ وَبَيْنَ أَنْ يَكْتُبَ لَكُمْ ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابَ.[129]

When the Prophet was at the point of death, a few men, including Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, were present in his room. The Prophet said: "Let me write a letter as my final will, so that you do not face any problems after my demise."

Then Omar said: "Pain has overtaken the Messenger of God; see, there is a Qur'an by your side, and it is enough for us to refer to."

Because of what Omar said, different opinions and disputes erupted among those present. Some of them said: "Bring a pen and paper for him to write his will, so that we are not to be misled after he is gone," and others said: "But consider what Omar declared."

Because some of them uttered irrelevant nonsense and caused differences among themselves in that meeting in the presence of the Prophet, he told them: "Now stand up and leave the room." So they stood up and left. Afterwards, Ibn ᶜAbbās would say: "The agony, the worst undisguised agony, apparently seems to have been of no importance, but the issue was that they did not let the Messenger of God write that letter."

And in some hadiths it has been related that Omar had said:

لَا تَأْتُوهُ بِشَيْءٍ

or

إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ لَيَهْجُرُ.[130]

("Let him be; do not bring him anything; this man is talking nonsense").

And in a separate narrative it has been related that Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

قَالَ بَعْضُ مَنْ كَانَ عِنْدَهُ إِنَّ نَبِيَّ اللهِ لَيَهْجُرُ.[131]

("Some of those present said: 'Indeed, the Prophet is speaking nonsense.'")

Now, we are trying to prove that at the time when he was passing away, the Prophet's main intent was to get a pen and a piece of paper to write a letter saying that the caliph after him would be Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and to sign and seal it. There were in addition to numerous clear texts, such as the verse about the guardianship, the Hadith of Ghadīr Khumm, the Hadith of Thaqalayn (the two most-loved facts), the Hadith of the Right, and the Hadith of the Position, opponents of the guardianship, such as Omar, Abū Bakr, Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ, Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah, and certain others. Another point is that they forced Osāma's army to set out for an unknown destination (which they had already planned, and had placed men in his army for this purpose), so that he would not be in Medina when the Prophet was dying. They wanted to manipulate the situation according to their own wishes, and stop the people from paying allegiance to Ali. And also, news was leaking out from the Prophet's house through the agents of ʿĀyisha and Ḥafṣah, and the Prophet's secrets became known by the people. The issue of the guardianship was very important to the Prophet, for he knew that his enemies were trying to stop it by all means, and he was therefore trying to mend and strengthen the caliphate while he was still alive.

Because their secrets and tricks were revealed, they did not let Osāma's army return to Medina, and every day they found a new excuse to keep the army far away. From the very beginning, Omar and Abū Bakr avoided joining the army, and each time the Prophet asked them why they had not done so, they made an unreasonable excuse.

For these reasons, during the final days of the Prophet's illness, while some of the companions were in his presence, he stated: "Fetch me a pen and a piece of paper so that I may write something for you, to show you your duty so that you do not get lost after me." Then Omar said: "Illness has overtaken him; he is speaking nonsense; for us, God's Book is enough." However, as everyone gathered there began to disagree with each other and turmoil ensued, the Prophet commanded them to leave the meeting, because it was unpleasant to raise such a commotion in his presence.

By considering what has been said so far concerning those who prevented the Prophet from writing this letter, which was to be announced to the nation, it becomes clear that trickery was the main cause. This was done by those who wanted the caliphate for their own benefit. They finally chose a caliph in secret, without the knowledge

of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, his companions, or his close relatives in the Banī Hāshim. But should we doubt that the Prophet's aim was anything other than assigning the caliphate to Ali?

The reason for saying things like[132] "this man is talking nonsense" and "the illness has overtaken him" was to cause disorder and stop the Prophet from carrying out his plan. His words were not due to illness, because first of all, no one had ever heard the Prophet utter a meaningless word, nor has history recorded such a thing. Also, on the basis of the Islamic moral attitude and the Prophet's chastity and protection that God promised in His Book, no one can accuse him of speaking nonsense.

Secondly, if his words were nonsense, then there would be no point in saying: "We have God's Book, and that is enough for us." There would have to be proof that the Prophet's words were nonsense, rather than just saying: "God's Book is enough for us."

Thirdly, this same Book of God describes the Prophet as sincere and obedient, and says that his word is the same as God's. According to clear texts in the Qur'an, people have no choice concerning the commands of God and the Prophet. Therefore, the words of the Prophet are the very proof of the Qur'an, and there is no way that his words could be nonsense. Thus, the claim of just one of the companions regarding what the Prophet said amounts to nothing.

Fourthly, there is a similarity with what occurred when the first caliph, Abū Bakr, was at the point of death. He made his will for the benefit of the second caliph, Omar. Othmān was present, and was writing Abū Bakr's will. Abū Bakr became unconscious for a while, and recovered a little later. In the meantime, the second caliph, Omar, accused Abū Bakr of the same kind of nonsense as he had with the Prophet. However, he considered the will valid, and consequently took over as ruler of the Muslims after Abū Bakr. It therefore becomes clear that the declaration of "nonsense" meant nothing in the case of the Prophet, because it had no effect on the will in the case of Abū Bakr. However, in the Prophet's case, it meant that the will was not written and sealed.

In the hadiths concerning the caliphate from Omar and Ibn ʿAbbās, Omar clearly says: "As your tribe (i.e., the Quraysh) did not want the caliph to be from among you, they kept Ali from the caliphate."

Concerning this, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd quotes Omar as saying:

يابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَنْ رَبَّكُمْ عَنْ هَذَا الأَمْرِ أَبُو بَكْرٍ إِنَّ قَوْمَكُمْ كَرِهُوا أَنْ يَجْمَعُوا لَكُمُ الخِلَافَةَ وَ النُّبُوَّةَ[133]

"O son of ᶜAbbās, the first to keep you away from the caliphate and slow down the process was Abū Bakr. Your tribe considered it wrong to have the caliphate within your tribe."

And Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has quoted through his chains Imam Bāqir as saying:

قَالَ: مَرَّ عُمَرُ بِعَلِيٍّ وَعِنْدَهُ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ بِفِنَاءِ دَارِهِ، فَسَلَّمَ، فَسَأَلَاهُ: أَيْنَ تُرِيدُ؟ فَقَالَ: مَالِي بِينْبُعَ، قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: أَفَلَا نَحْمِلُ جِمَالَكَ وَنَقُومُ مَعَكَ؟ قَالَ: بَلَى، فَقَالَ لِابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قُمْ مَعَهُ قَالَ: فَشَبَّكَ أَصَابِعَهُ فِي أَصَابِعِي وَقَبَضَ، حَتَّى إِذَا خَلَّفْنَا الْبَقِيعَ، قَالَ: يَا ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ، أَمَا وَاللهِ أَنَّ كَانَ صَاحِبُكَ هَذَا أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِالْأَمْرِ بَعْدَ وَفَاةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ، إِلَّا أَنَّا خِفْنَاهُ عَلَى اثْنَتَيْنِ.

قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: فَجَاءَ بِمَنْطِقٍ لَمْ أَجِدْ بُدًّا مَعَهُ مِنْ مَسَأَلَتِهِ عَنْهُ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مَا هُمَا؟ قَالَ: خَشِينَا عَلَى حَدَاثَةِ سِنِّهِ وَحُبِّهِ بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ.[134]

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was sitting on the veranda of his house with the son of ᶜAbbās when Omar passed by and saluted them. They both asked him: "Where are you heading for?" and he said: "I am going over to my property at Yanbū'."[135] Ali then asked him: "Do you mind if we come with you?" and Omar answered: "Not at all." Then Ali told ᶜAbbās: "O ᶜAbbās, so be it. Let us go with him."

Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "Omar was walking alongside me, hand in hand, and talking. We walked forward a good distance and passed by the Baqiᶜ graveyard. Then Omar told me: "O son of ᶜAbbās, by God, this companion of yours was the most deserving to be caliph after the demise of the Prophet, but there were just two reasons for our discounting him."

Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "It was Omar who began the conversation, and I did nothing but ask him: 'O Emir of the Faithful, what are those two reasons?' He answered: 'We were only concerned that Ali was too young for the caliphate, and that he favored the children of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib.'"

After it became clear that Omar and his followers conceded that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was the right person for the caliphate, then according to the religious law, the violator should have been removed or have voluntarily abdicated to give way to the rightful one. And if those who had supported the previous caliph were not opposed to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, their religious responsibility was to turn to him after the Prophet's death under the banner of true Islam. This was the only right thing to do, rather than uniting with the opposition of the Quraysh and standing against Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. In the event, they

usurped the caliphate and forced Ali and his companions to pay homage to their false government. And then,[136] for the satisfaction of the Quraysh, they broke Fāṭimah's ribs at the command of Omar, and Abū Bakr's slave lashed Fāṭimah's arm so hard that the marks remained until she died.

Abū Bakr, who sent Omar and Khālid Ibn Walīd to Ali's house, had ordered that if Fāṭimah held Ali and prevented him from being taken away, they were to forcefully keep her away, and this is what they did. Omar took Ali's sword and threw it some distance away, and then delivered Ali to Khālid Ibn Walīd and his men to be taken to the mosque. He resisted, but they dragged him by force.[137]

Nonetheless, these shameful historical events are not only in Shi'a books, but they also abound in Sunni books. Whoever refers to the histories of Ṭabarī, Ibn Athīr, and Ibn Quṭayba in *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, or that of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and others, will find such assaults upon Islam.

It is absolutely clear that the Sunnis did their best to save these aggressive ruling parties. Their untimely cooperation caused the Omayyad and 'Abbāsīd governments to rise, and not only treat the Muslims like slaves, but dominate those in other countries. For six centuries their government afflicted the poor in the style of Pharaoh.

Numerous books have been written about their corrupt and worldly passions, and these tyrannical governments have been ruined and forgotten, but it is time to be reminded of history in order to bring about a change in ways of thinking and living. It is high time they stopped denying the beloved hadiths about the event of Ghadīr and the guardianship, and many others that fill their books. It is time they stopped making excuses and revealed the facts to the world, and for them all, according to the command of the Qur'an, to recognize that the guardianship and the true dictates of the religion are not separate, and embrace the sacred school of Ja'far.

I call upon God to bear witness that this is the advice of a man who wishes well, who has studied for a long period of time, and has investigated the facts to differentiate between right and wrong, and offers this to the young generation, as well as the ignorant, for the sake of God. Through the power of God, I have tried to bring illumination of the facts, so that by reading these pages they might choose the straight path of Ali's guardianship. May God guide them to the straight path.

The Sermons of Ali on the Necessity of the Caliphate's Devolving upon his Perfect Qualities

Ali states in his second sermon in the *Nahj al-Balāghah*:

زَرَعُوا الْفُجُورَ، وَسَقَوْهُ الْغُرُورَ، وَحَصَدُوا الثُّبُورَ لَا يُقَاسُ بِآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه و آله وسلم مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ أَحَدٌ، وَلَا يُسَوَّى بِهِمْ مَنْ جَرَتْ نِعْمَتُهُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَبَداً. هُمْ أَسَاسُ الدِّينِ، وَعِمَادُ الْيَقِينِ، إِلَيْهِمْ يَفِيءُ الْغَالِي، وَبِهِمْ يُلْحَقُ التَّالِي، وَلَهُمْ خَصَائِصُ حَقِّ الْوِلَايَةِ، وَفِيهِمُ الْوَصِيَّةُ وَالْوِرَاثَةُ الْآنَ إِذْ رَجَعَ الْحَقُّ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ، وَنُقِلَ إِلَى مُنْتَقَلِهِ[138]

They sowed error, watered with deception, and harvested destruction. None in the Islamic community can be taken as equal to the Household of the Prophet Muhammad. Those beneath them cannot be matched with them. They are the foundation of the religion and the pillar of belief. The forward runner has to turn back to them, while the follower has to overtake them. They possess the chief characteristics of guardianship. The will and succession (of the Prophet) favors them. It is the time when right returns to its owner and its center of return.

Here we notice that Ali has mentioned the beginning of his government. First of all, he says: "None among this nation is of the same rank as the Household." And then, after explaining their characteristics and attributes, he states: "Now, the right has turned to the rightful owner; it is now at its created station."

Do these clear statements not express that both the prophethood and the guardianship belonged to the family of the Banī Hāshim? Do these clear sentences not show the corruption of the government of the previously chosen caliphs, and that things have now found their true course, and that Ali is included within the prophethood and the guardianship?

In his sixth sermon in the *Nahj al-Balāghah* he states:

وَاللهِ لَا أَكُونُ كَالضَّبُعِ تَنَامُ عَلَى طُولِ اللَّدْمِ، حَتَّى يَصِلَ إِلَيْهَا طَالِبُهَا، وَيَخْتِلَهَا رَاصِدُهَا، وَلَكِنِّي أَضْرِبُ بِالْمُقْبِلِ إِلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُدْبِرَ عَنْهُ، وَبِالسَّامِعِ الْمُطِيعِ الْعَاصِيَ الْمُرِيبَ أَبَداً حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ عَلَيَّ يَوْمِي. فَوَ اللهِ مَا زِلْتُ مَدْفُوعاً عَنْ حَقِّي مُسْتَأْثَراً عَلَيَّ مُنْذُ قَبَضَ اللهُ نَبِيَّهُ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (و آلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى يَوْمِ النَّاسِ هَذَا.[139]

By God, I shall not be like the pestered who feigns sleep amidst the continuous (sound of) stone-throwing, until he who searches for it finds it or overpowers it. Rather, I shall always strike at those who deviate from the truth with the help of those who advance towards it, and at the sinners and doubters with the help of those who listen to me and obey, until my day [of death] comes. By God, I have been deprived of my right from the day when the Prophet died until today.[140]

Ali delivered this sermon after his son, Imam Hasan, had asked him not to go after Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, who had broken their allegiance and were prepared to fight.

He clearly states that the caliphate has been his right since the demise of the Prophet.

Rwait Ronaldson, whose book has been translated in Arabic, says:

وَيرِى أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنبَلٍ أَنَّهُ بَعْدَ مَقتَلِ عَلِى خَطَبَ الحَسَنُ بِالنَّاسِ، فَقَالَ: لَقَدْ قُبِضَ فِى هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةِ رَجُلٌ لَمْ يَسْبِقْهُ الأَوَّلُونَ بِعَمَلٍ، وَلا يُدْرِكُهُ الآخِرُونَ بِعَمَلٍ، وَقَدْ كَانَ يُبْعَثُهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ [141]

Ahmad Ḥanbal relates that after Ali was killed, [his son] Hasan addressed the people saying: "This night the soul of a man has passed away above whom none of the predecessors could excel in their actions, nor any who are to come, for the Messenger of God had assigned him."

He then says: "and [in the foregoing topic] we discussed the matter." However, this discussion does not detract from our purpose, which is the quotation from Ahmad Ḥanbal and the statement by Imam Hasan, because the argument according to his personal opinion has nothing to do with the narrative.

How Wisdom Dictates That It Is Wrong to Claim That Prophethood and the Caliphate Cannot Exist in a Single Household

Nonetheless, all the foregoing consists of some of the hadiths concerning the close relationship of prophethood and the guardianship in the dynasty of the Banī Hāshim, and reference to authentic histories would verify this.

Regarding the question of wisdom, it is a necessity of wisdom to understand that it is invalid to consider that prophethood and the guardianship cannot coexist in a single family. We maintain that the intellect demands that whoever can govern the nation in the best and most compassionate way, is brave, generous, wise, and the most

knowledgeable about religious affairs and the traditions, is aware of the essence of Unity, controls his internal and external passions, and is familiar with the light of the world—he is the one most suited to govern the nation. The affairs of the nation can be addressed by a council, and any serious problem can be referred to him and solved by his vast knowledge. With this kind of government, ruled by the intellect, it makes no difference whether the leader is from a prophetic dynasty or any other family. The standard consists in his vast knowledge of all aspects of life, enabling him to govern the nation in the best way and protect it from enemies and danger, to direct the whole nation towards perfection and a spiritual state, and in the meantime, train the people to earn an income and run their daily lives—in short, to train them to appreciate their blessings and enjoy them.

Moreover, if this happens in a family wherein there is also prophethood, as in the case of Ali, it is still he alone who has the intellect to command and oversee the government and the caliphate. However, if these qualities are not found in the dynasty of prophethood, as with the son of Noah, the intellect does not require people to follow him, but to follow someone who has this standard of perfection.

Consequently, it is clear that the nation of Islam did not make any progress after the demise of the Prophet, and declined day by day. This is because a nation always deteriorates if it gives authority to someone inadequate.[142] We see that Islam barely progressed after the demise of the Prophet, except for taking over a few countries or towns. However, if authority over the nation had been in the hands of Ali, many countries would have been captured, people would have had more spiritual souls, they would have striven towards God, everything would have been accomplished in the manner of the Prophet, the caliphate would have been strong, and people far and wide would have enjoyed true Islam up until the Day of Resurrection. But as the course of events changed, and the message put forth was altered, the people could not taste true Islam, the spirituality of life, brotherhood and equality, or generosity and equanimity amongst the different tribes. They therefore remained in the same system of idolatry as before. Progress, monotheism, and justice stopped where they were, and were postponed until the time of the glorious era of the Holy Mahdī, the Truly Existing One of the Household of Muhammad, the eminent son of al-Hasan al-Askarī.

Nowadays, the Shi'a are scattered around the world, but are numerous enough to establish their own government, all because of the

work of Husayn Ibn Ali and Imam Ṣādiq. Each one in his turn, as well as others of the Household, has tried to reach out and bring God's commands to the people of the world, to preserve them and support Islam. Hence, from that time up until now, the Shi'a have increased in number compared with the Sunnis, whose numbers have decreased. This is nothing but the sense of guardianship in people's hearts and an understanding of its true meaning.

Altogether, the outcome of our discussion is that Omar's claim that prophethood and the caliphate should not coexist in a single family, which is the main reason for excluding Ali from the caliphate, was sheer nonsense. There is neither a religious command to confirm this, nor any wise words. It is a false statement and is condemned by the religious and the wise.

The next question concerns the unanimous verdict of all Muslims regarding prophethood and the caliphate coexisting in a single family. Right from the beginning of Islam up until now, we come across no one in any history or traditional book who had a difficulty with this. The rightful imams and religious leaders since the time of the Prophet are a reliable proof of this, and even pre-Islamic history proves the legitimate agreement of the prophets on the unity of prophethood and the imamate. On the whole, as mentioned in the section on wisdom, we can say that this unity corresponds with reason and intellect. The prophets have always been sent to guide the people, and spiritual guardianship has been in their hands, because otherwise, prophethood without guardianship and governance over the nations would have had no effect. God has sent the prophets to guide the people and direct them to justice and the straight path, and show them how to lead their lives, and this is not possible without the unity of prophethood and guardianship. As the Qur'an states:

لَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَأَنْزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْمِيزَانَ لِيَقُومَ النَّاسُ بِالْقِسْطِ وَأَنْزَلْنَا الْحَدِيدَ فِيهِ بَأْسٌ شَدِيدٌ وَمَنَافِعُ لِلنَّاسِ وَلِيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ مَنْ يَنْصُرُهُ وَرُسُلَهُ بِالْغَيْبِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ.

We sent aforetime Our messengers with clear signs, and sent down with them the Scripture and the Balance (of right and wrong), that men may stand forth in justice; and We sent down iron, wherein is mighty power and (many) uses for mankind, that God may know him who supports Him and His messengers, though unseen. Indeed, God is Powerful and Exalted in Might (57:25).

Here we see that God speaks of how the believers benefit from His creation of iron in the earth by making tools, and also weapons with which, alongside the Prophet, they might fight their enemies and

teach them. And, incidentally, can a prophet fight his enemies without having authority over the people in their worldly affairs? We can read the following:

وَكَأَيِّن مِّن نَّبِيٍّ قَاتَلَ مَعَهُ رِبِّيُّونَ كَثِيرٌ فَمَا وَهَنُوا لِمَا أَصَابَهُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَمَا ضَعُفُوا وَمَا اسْتَكَانُوا وَاللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الصَّابِرِينَ

And with how many a prophet have there been a number of devoted men who fought beside him. They never lost heart for aught that befell them in the way of God, nor did they weaken, nor were they brought low. And God loves the steadfast (3:146).

فَقَدْ آتَيْنَا آلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَآتَيْنَاهُم مُّلْكًا عَظِيمًا

...For We bestowed upon the house of Abraham the Scripture and wisdom, and We bestowed on them a mighty kingdom (4:54).

فَهَزَمُوهُم بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَقَتَلَ دَاوُودُ جَالُوتَ وَآتَاهُ اللَّهُ الْمُلْكَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَعَلَّمَهُ مِمَّا يَشَاءُ

So they routed them by God's leave, and David slew Goliath; and God gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him of that which He willed...(2:251).

قَالَ رَبِّ اغْفِرْ لِي وَهَبْ لِي مُلْكًا لَّا يَنبَغِي لِأَحَدٍ مِّن بَعْدِي إِنَّكَ أَنتَ الْوَهَّابُ

He (Solomon) said: My Lord! Forgive me and grant me a kingdom such as shall not belong to any after me. Indeed, You are the Bestower (38:35).

In these verses we see that God has assigned guardianship and authority to each prophet, and they directly refer to and confirm the unity of prophethood and guardianship, even during the times of the previous prophets.

The outcome of our discussion is that the sending of a prophet with an invitation to society is not possible without the guarantee of executing the divine commands and establishing the caliphate. All the prophets had the power and authority of the guardianship to govern the people under their control.

The Separation of Prophethood, the Caliphate, and Governance Is the Separation of Religion from Politics

On the basis of the sacred rulings of Islam, no one can imagine the separation of prophethood from guardianship and rulership. The Islamic religion is comprehensive, and its laws encompass all human needs—worldly and spiritual, both manifest and unseen—and each one harmonizes with the others. This invites man to save the world, which is the preliminary step that connects all the rest. The heart is

the preserver and keeper of the manifest, and the manifest is a mirror of the heart. It is in fact just one thing appearing in different shapes at different levels. Therefore, the separation of spirituality from politics is a sharp sword that sections off religion from the people, and this all devolves from Omar's statement.

Does it mean anything other than the separation of the prophethood from the caliphate in a single family? Omar said:

> After the Messenger of God, let the prophethood be yours, the family of Banī Hāshim—for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. We have nothing to do with it. Let all inspirations and the spiritual be yours; we do not care for it, may it be blessed for you. However, the government and rulership cannot be yours. It must go to those other than the Household of the Prophet, to those who lack knowledge of the Book and are unaware of the path of the Prophet.
>
> Although those of the Household are fully acquainted with God's Book and the traditions of the Prophet, they are of no use for us; we have God's Book with us, and it is enough. We can manage our daily affairs and those of society with it. Mistakes are not so important to us. The Household are certain of the Qur'an, as it is stated:[143] *Which none shall touch but the purified* (56:79). They are assigned the highest position, to be the source of the religion and the laws and commands, for themselves and for their followers. But we have nothing to do with that, however, having the authority to rule the nation and look after their affairs, and direct them how to live and when to fight.

This is an obvious case for the separation of religion from politics.

On the grounds that the Quraysh would never tolerate the Banī Hāshim, and that the Banī Hāshim should not govern the Quraysh, Omar put forward the case for the separation of the caliphate from the Household of the Prophet and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. We have not come across anyone who claims such nonsense except Abū Bakr and Omar. The main aim of suggesting this to the Quraysh was that he himself belonged to the tribe of Quraysh, not the Banī Hāshim.

Those who consider themselves great always seek support in the name of the people, even if the people oppose their opinions and desires, for example, if we read somewhere that the president of America says that Washington does not tolerate a certain word, that Queen Elizabeth of England says that London wants to do such-and-such, or that the prime minister of Russia says that Moscow has decided to do a certain thing. Such proud people regard the whole nation as their property, as one French ruler said: "France means me only."[144]

The question of the separation of spirituality from politics was considered in the Islamic countries, and the most headstrong decision-maker to do this was Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā (Atatürk), followed by Rezā Khān Pahlavī, both of whom ruthlessly carried out the task. Within their countries they subsequently separated religion from the economy and politics, and their people from foreigners. Omar did the same by taking control of the worldly affairs of the Muslims, and making Ali, the great master of knowledge, sit at home. He did the same with his close companions, who were noble and very dear to him, such as Ammār Yāsir, Miqdād, Salmān, and Abūdhar.

The great scholars of Islam were cast aside; they nailed bowler hats to their heads and harshly tortured them until they died together in prison.

In the early days of Islam, too, Imam Ali, the only man of virtue and knowledge, the container of the Holy Qur'an, the guardian of the traditions of the Prophet, the knower of the conditions of war and peace, sharer of the nation's treasure, the one who was assigned justice instead of running the affairs of the nation, took to farming, gardening, planting palms, and digging wells.

At the command of Othmān, they dragged Ibn Mas'ūd out of the mosque and broke his bones so that he died. From his kicking, Ammār Yāsir was afflicted with a hernia, and Abūdhar Ghifārī was exiled to a barren land far from home and died alone in a dungeon. They killed the only daughter of the Prophet, his most beloved. By these means they changed the development and history of Islam, and led the world in a direction that neither the Prophet nor Ali wanted. They dealt with the Qur'an only superficially, and began their tyrannical rule, lashing the people to silence them.

The Immaculate Imams were condemned, sent to prison, and tortured for their objection to the separation of spirituality and politics. They always said that the true function of guardianship and the imamate is to govern the people and to lead them to the straight path towards perfection. However, aggressive rulers kept saying that spiritual guardianship is for you, but governing is for us.

Zamakhsharī has mentioned in the *Rabī' al-Abrār* that Hārūn al-Rashīd kept telling Imam Mūsā Ibn Ja'far that he should take the oasis of Fadak, but the Imam declined. When Hārūn insisted, the Imam said that he would take Fadak, but with its surroundings. Hārūn asked him what the surroundings were, and the Imam said that its first territory is Adan. Hārūn turned pale and asked: "So, what is its second territory?" and the Imam answered: "It is Samarqand." Hārūn's vision became blurred, and he asked: "Then what is the third

one?" and the Imam answered: "Of course, it is Africa." Hārūn's face darkened, and he asked: "So what is the fourth one?" and the Imam stated: "It is Sayf al-Baḥr, the strand from the Caspian Sea to Armenia." Hārūn said: "In that case, nothing remains for us! Your aim is to dominate those places and cast me aside!" The Imam said: "By the way, I had already told you that if I established the precise territory of my demand, you would not return Fadak to me."

Thus, when Hārūn understood the matter, he decided to kill the Imam to be rid of him.[145]

There Are No Words Such as *rūḥānī* or *rūḥāniyyat* ("Spiritual," "Spirituality") in Islam, Since They Were Invented by the Christians

The case of the separation of spirituality and politics has been going on in the same way for almost a hundred years. It began with the Christians living among the Arabs, who wanted to be free within the society. Because unrestrained freedoms were prohibited in Islam, they wanted to change the situation by separating spirituality from politics.

Of course, many religiously enlightened people among the Arabs also supported them. They did not really want to separate spirituality from politics, but they saw that the Othmān sultans and the rulers of Egypt pretended to be religious, whereas they were not. In fact, they had taken religion as a shelter to cover their crimes. The people had no freedom of choice, so they raised their voices to take religion out of their control.

On the whole, the Sunnis take their rulers and caliphs as men with divine authority, and they consider obedience to them incumbent, and therefore, the government dominates all the weak people and the religion. One of the main reasons for Sunni countries' falling behind is that they think it is incumbent upon them to obey their aggressive rulers. Therefore, the road to emancipation is blocked for them, unless they join the Shi'a school, and then obey only God's rightful guardians, understanding the term "those in authority" that is mentioned in the Qur'an as the twelve Infallible Imams.

However, for the Shi'a, the announcement of the separation of religion and politics had another meaning. The heralds of this call wanted to deprive religious scholars, Shi'a jurists, and worthwhile religious figures of influence, and keep them away from the events within Muslim countries, effectively bringing them to their knees. Or in other words, they wanted to bring the religion under the control of

politics and extinguish it. It was very dangerous, because this would in reality do away with religion. It meant overlooking spirituality and introducing the culture of the West, and leading the nation towards worldly desires and a struggle for governmental benefits.

Generally speaking, the word "spirituality" is also a trick invented by those gone astray who called the Islamic scholars the *ruḥānī* (the spiritual), whereas such scholars are not only *ruḥānī*, but also Muslims who deal with the principal spiritual and worldly matters that lead to the Hereafter; they always pray, and attend to the various problems within society.

The terms "spiritual" and "spirituality" are not in the Qur'an, and in the traditions of the Prophet, Islam is not primarily a religion of spirituality. Islam is a religion of faith and primary matters, the spirit and belief, meditation, work, prayer, and struggle, and it is for all, rather than a particular region. And this fact signifies the unity of politics and spirituality.

The term "spirituality" comes from the Christians, who regard Jesus as their spiritual father, and their priests also as spiritual fathers. The term has been transferred from the Christians to the Muslims, whose conversations and books abound with this expression. Unfortunately, it appears in certain books by Islamic scholars who, as well as jurists, regard themselves as spiritual. By adopting this description, they deliberately give away fifty percent of their blessings, life, and freedom to the enemy, and sometimes say: "We are the spiritual leaders, and we have nothing to do with politics."

In fact, this interpretation is a recipe for annihilating Islam. Instead of the term "spiritual," we should always use the words "scholar" or "jurist." In addition, instead of "spirituality," we should use the term "jurisprudence," which belongs to religion, and its meaning is quite clear.

And there are other similar words that have been introduced into Islamic culture by colonizers that have affected ways of thinking. For example, the terminology of "belief" and "disbelief" have lost their real meaning and given way to foreign concepts. Whoever lives inside a country is called a citizen, even if he is a disbeliever; and if a Muslim lives abroad, they call him an outsider, and this is completely wrong.

The result is that we do not need unanimous opinions to choose spiritual leaders and caliphs, but on the contrary, we do need unanimous opinions for not opposing them. Perhaps no one would doubt their allegiance to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib if they had not secretly paid homage at the Saqīfa to Abū Bakr. After the Saqīfa event, homage to Abū

Bakr seemed unusual, and the Sunnis found it unexpected, since they thought allegiance would be to Ali.

And when Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ᶜAuf spoke about the virtues of the Quraysh at the Saqīfa in front of the Migrants, Mundhar Ibn Arqam stood up and said:

مَانَدْفَعُ فَضْلَ مَنْ ذَكَرْتَ وَاِنَّ فِيهِمْ لَرَجُلًا لَوْطَلَبَ هَذَا الْاَمْرَلَمْ يُنَازَعْهُ اَحَدٌ، يعنى عَلِيَّ بْنَ اَبِيطَالِب[146]

"We do not deny the virtues of the men you mentioned, but there is actually a man among the Migrants to whom no one would object as caliph, and that man is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd reports that Barā' Ibn ᶜĀzib said:

> I was always a lover of the Banī Hāshim. After the demise of the Prophet, I was worried that the Quraysh would unite and take the caliphate from the Banī Hāshim. And in addition to my sorrow for the demise of the Prophet, I was constantly like a depressed woman, wondering and always hasty, and this state of distress always raised a tumult within me.
>
> I often called on the Banī Hāshim, who would sit together in a chamber, and time and again I inquired about where the Quraysh were. When I found that one was missing, I insisted on knowing where he was, and it was then that I noticed that Omar and Abū Bakr were not present there. To my question, one of them said they were at the Saqīfa Banī Sāᶜidah, and another said that almost all the people had sworn allegiance to Abū Bakr.
>
> Before long I saw Abū Bakr approaching with Omar and a group of the companions of the Saqīfa, all tying the edges of their robes to their vest bands. They went up to everyone on the way, and after biting him hard, they pulled his hand and put it in Abū Bakr's hand to pay homage, willingly or not.
>
> I could not bear seeing such an unlawful situation, so I immediately went to the Banī Hāshim. On finding the front door closed, I knocked, in the meantime shouting: "People have sworn allegiance to Abū Bakr!"
>
> Abbās Ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib cried: "O Banī Hāshim, you have become abject! You have missed an opportunity! Although I commanded you what to do, you denied me!"
>
> I kept quiet, for disturbing thoughts had dominated me, and I could hardly breathe, until that evening I gathered that Miqdād, Salmān, Abūdhar, ᶜUbādah Ibn Ṣāmit, Abū Maytham Ibn Tayyahan, Ḥudhayfah, and Ammār wanted to divert the course of allegiance to Abū Bakr and bring it to the council of the Migrants.[147] However, news of this reached Abū Bakr and Omar. At night they sent someone to Abū Obayda and

Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah and asked their wise opinion on the matter. Mughayrah said: "My opinion is that you should meet ʿAbbās ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and promise him a share of this caliphate for himself and his children. By doing this, you would block the way for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

At nightfall, Abū Bakr, Omar, Abū Obayda, and Mughayrah set off and continued until they were with ʿAbbās. This was on the second day after the demise of the Prophet. After praising God, Abū Bakr said:

> Indeed, God chose Muhammad as His Prophet and raised him high, and He assigned him as the guardian of the nation. And God favored the believers by assigning him as His Prophet among them, and made the believers a reliable base for him, until He desired to take him to Him. And He entrusted authority to the hands of the people, so that they might choose without prejudice a caliph for themselves. This they did, and they chose their own caliph, and as a result, I became the guardian of the people. Now, with God's assistance, I feel no fright or doubt about myself; my success is through God, and I rely on Him, and so do I return to Him. And I am always informed that against the wishes of the Sunnis, the Muslims find fault with each other and gossip; they have made you a reliable source, and you too have become their supporters in the greatest matters. So, either you must join the people in what they have done, or put a stop to their deviation. And now we have come to you to assign to you a share in the caliphate to exclude you from punishment in the Hereafter, because you are the uncle of the Prophet. Although the people have seen your position and the status of your household, they have turned away from the idea of your being the caliph. O Banī Hāshim, be moderate and friendly; the Prophet belongs to us all.

At that moment Omar cut into the speech, and in accordance with his proud and effusive character, he uttered a parenthetical remark: "Yes, by God, we have not come here out of need; we simply disliked what the people were doing. So see to the demands of the people." After saying this he kept silent.

Then ʿAbbās took the lead to speak. First he praised the Majesty of the Creator, and then said:

> As you mentioned just now, God created Muhammad as a prophet and raised him up to be the Guardian of the Believers, and through him He favored His creatures and finally took him with honor to His presence. And he left the people on their own to choose their caliph, and they learned the right path from the wrong one.

Now, if you demand the caliphate for the sake of the Messenger of God, know that you are taking away our right. But if you are demanding it for the sake of the believers, we are also of the believers, and regarding matters of the caliphate, we have never taken a step too far, nor were we sluggish. We have not mingled among the people, and our great wisdom has never decreased, nor have we come to the end of our wits!

So if you claim that the guardianship is willingly given to you by the believers, then how is it that we still dislike it? And there are huge differences in your opinions, for you say: "The believers find fault with me, and they are mocking me," and on another occasion you say: "The believers have turned to you and chosen you as their caliph."

However, this very share of the caliphate that you wish to bestow upon me, if it is your right, and you want to give it away to us, please keep it for yourselves, because we need it not! However, if it is the share of the believers, then you have no right to give it away! Thus, if it is for us to say, we are not interested in such a right that ignores others.

These matters that I am pointing out for you are not because I am trying to deter you from what you have in mind, but it is an ultimatum that must be carried out properly.

Yet you say that the Prophet belongs to your tribe and our tribe, and know that the Messenger of God is a tree of which we are the branches, but you are a neighbor of that tree!

But, O Omar, you said that you were worried about us being against the people, and quite rightly, but it is what you have created, for you were the one who caused the problem right at the beginning. And help comes from God.[148]

This case is mentioned by Ahmad Ibn Yaʿqūb, the celebrated writer known as Yaʿqūbī, in his history.

The only difference is that when Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib went to the house where the Banī Hāshim were, and knocked at the door, saying: "The people have sworn allegiance to Abū Bakr," some of them said: "The Muslims never do anything without our permission, because we are closer to the Prophet and take precedence." So ʿAbbās said: "By the Lord of the Kaʿbah, they did what they wanted to do."

The Migrants and the Supporters did not doubt Ali's right to the caliphate. Therefore, when they came out of the house, Faḍl Ibn ʿAbbās, who was the spokesman of the Quraysh, said:

يا معشر قريش! إنه ما حقت لكم الخلافة بالتمويه، ونحن أهلها دونكم، وصاحبنا أولى بها منكم

"O people of the Quraysh! The guardianship and the caliphate cannot be validated by tricks and deceit! We deserve the caliphate, not you! And our chief (Ali) is more deserving, not you."

Then Otbah Ibn Abī Lahab stood up and recited this piece:

مَاكُنْتُ أَحْسِبُ أَنَّ الْأَمْرَ مُنْصَرِفٌ عَنْ هَاشِمٍ ثُمَّ مِنْهَا عَنْ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ 1
عَنْ أَوَّلِ النَّاسِ إِيمَانًا وَسَابِقَةً وَأَعْلَمِ النَّاسِ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَالسُّنَنِ 2
وَآخِرِ النَّاسِ عَهْدًا بِالنَّبِيِّ وَمَنْ جِبْرِيلُ عَوْنٌ لَهُ فِي الْغُسْلِ وَالْكَفَنِ 3
مَنْ فِيهِ مَا فِيهِمُ لَا يُمْتَرَى بِهِ وَلَيْسَ فِي الْقَوْمِ مَا فِيهِ مِنَ الْحَسَنِ.[149] 4

1. I never thought they would take the caliphate from the Banū Hāshim, especially from Abū al-Hasan,
2. Who was the first of the people to embrace Islam, and has the most knowledge of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet;
3. And he was the last to convene with the Prophet, whom Gabriel helped him enshroud and bury.
4. Without doubt, he alone possesses all the perfections of the Quraysh, yet his great virtues cannot be found with any other one of them.

(Then Ali sent someone to stop him from continuing with the recitation).

And in the middle of the *Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī* there is a section about those who objected to paying homage to Abū Bakr, amongst whom was Abū Sufyān Ibn Ḥarb, who said:

أَرَضِيتُمْ يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ أَنْ يَلِيَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ عَلَيْكُمْ غَيْرُكُمْ؟ وَقَالَ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: أُمْدُدْ يَدَكَ أُبَايِعْكَ. وَعَلِيٌّ مَعَهُ قُصَيٌّ. وَقَالَ:

بَنِي هَاشِمٍ لَا تُطْمِعُوا النَّاسَ فِيكُمْ وَلَا سِيَّمَا تَيْمَ بْنَ مُرَّةَ أَوْ عَدِي 1
فَمَا الْأَمْرُ إِلَّا فِيكُمْ وَإِلَيْكُمْ وَلَيْسَ لَهَا إِلَّا أَبُو حَسَنٍ عَلِي 2
أَبَا حَسَنٍ فَاشْدُدْ بِهَا كَفَّ حَازِمٍ فَإِنَّكَ بِالْأَمْرِ الَّذِي يُرْتَجَى مَلِي 3
وَإِنَّ أَمْرَءًا أَيْرِي قُصَيٌّ[150] وَرَآءَهُ عَزِيزُ الْحِمَى وَالنَّاسُ مِنْ غَالِبٍ[151] قَصِي.[152] 4

O son of Manāf! Are you satisfied with any other than the Messenger of God as caliph to govern you?" He then said to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib: "Stretch forth your hand, for I am to swear allegiance to you," and all the children of Ghossa paid homage to Ali. Then he said:

1. "O Banī Hāshim, do not let these people become greedy for the guardianship and statesmanship—especially Abū Bakr, who is of the tribe of Teim Ibn Morra, and Omar, who belongs to the tribe of Adei.
2. "The affairs of the guardianship and statesmanship belong to none but you; no one deserves it but Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.
3. "O Abū al-Hasan, stand steady and strong to get back the guardianship, for it is your right; you are the right one, who deserves this caliphate and the guardianship the opponents seek.
4. "And indeed that man, whose followers and supporters were all the sons of Ghosai, including the Banī Hāshim, the Banī Omayyad, and many others, and were all ready to sacrifice their souls for him, is very dear. He is not of those who are defeated, and none equal him in strength; but alas, the people have taken the side of Abū Bakr and Omar."

Shaykh Mufīd, who has related this poem from Abū Sufyān, has added to the last part the following:

ثُمَّ نَادَى بِأَعْلَى صَوْتِهِ: يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ، أَرَضِيتُمْ أَنْ يَلِيَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَبُو فَصِيلٍ: الرَّذْلُ ابْنُ الرَّذْلِ؟ أَمَا وَاللهِ لَوْ شِئْتُمْ لَأَمْلَأَنَّهَا عَلَيْهِمْ خَيْلًا وَرَجِلًا.

And then, Abū Sufyān shouted at top of his voice: "O sons of Hāshim! O sons of ʿAbd Manāf! Do you want this mean and ugly calf, the son of a mean and ugly camel, to govern you? By God, if you want this, I can fill Medina with mounted soldiers and infantry to defend him [Ali]."

فَنَادَاهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: ارْجِعْ يَا أَبَا سُفْيَانَ، فَوَاللهِ مَا تُرِيدُ اللهَ بِمَا تَقُولُ، وَمَا زِلْتَ تَكِيدُ الْإِسْلَامَ وَأَهْلَهُ، وَنَحْنُ مَشَاغِيلُ بِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَعَلَى كُلِّ امْرِئٍ مَا اكْتَسَبَ، وَهُوَ وَلِيُّ مَا احْتَقَبَ.

At that moment, Ali called out to him from the distance:

O Abū Sufyān, retract your words. By God, by saying so, you do not consider God! You have always been the source of cunning and deceit for Islam! Now we are busy enshrouding and burying the Prophet. Everyone is responsible for what he does, and sees the consequence of what he has done, and is responsible for the crimes he commits!

Abū Sufyān went to the Prophet's Mosque and found all the sons of Omayyad sitting there. He tried to instigate a government with them, but they did not agree.

Sedition and hard struggle was dominant everywhere, and corruption and disaster engulfed everyone. Surprising events occurred, and it was clear that Satan had a hand in this. Those in opposition were the main cause, since they did not calm the uprising. The believers did not raise their hands, and they left the real leader alone to be humiliated. This is the interpretation of the following words of God:

وَاتَّقُوا فِتْنَةً لَا تُصِيبَنَّ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْكُمْ خَاصَّةً [153]

And fear a chastisement which falls exclusively on those of you who are wrong-doers...(8:25).

Khālid Ibn Saʿd was away at the time of the Saqīfa and the Prophet's death, but when he returned from his journey, he said: "Come, let me pay homage to you," and:

فَوَاللهِ مَا فِي النَّاسِ أَحَدٌ أَوْلَى بِمَقَامِ مُحَمَّدٍ مِنْكَ.

"By God, there is none among the people of the same standing as Muhammad except you."

And a group of people gathered around Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and asked him to accept their allegiance, but he answered them:

أُغْدُوا عَلَى هَذَا مُحَلِّقِينَ الرُّؤُوسَ. فَلَمْ يَغْدُ عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا ثَلَاثَةُ نَفَرٍ.

"Regarding this matter, shave your heads and come to me tomorrow!"

However, only three went to him the next day.

The Sending Out of Those Who Had Taken Sanctuary in the House of Fāṭimah

Abū Bakr and Omar were informed that a group of the Migrants and the Supporters had been with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib in the house of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet. They brought some people with them to attack the house. Listening to what those present had to say, Ali left the house with his unsheathed sword in his hand. Omar saw him approaching, so he engaged with Ali, but Ali broke his sword and went back to the house.

Fāṭimah, too, rushed out of her room, and addressing the men, she said: "I swear to God that you must either leave the house or I will unveil my face and cry to God to hear my entreaty!" On hearing Fāṭimah's taunt, they all left the house. After staying at Fāṭimah's house for several days, no one paid homage. But later they began paying homage, one after another. Ali did not pay homage at the time, but

did so six months later, although it has been narrated elsewhere that it was after forty days.[154]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd narrates through his chains:

> As the objections against paying homage to Abū Bakr increased among the people, Omar and Abū Bakr became even harsher to Ali. Umm Mistah Ibn Othatha[155] left her home for the cemetery, and stood in front of the grave of the Prophet and began reciting this poem:
>
> 1 كَانَتْ اُمُورٌ وَأَنْبَاءٌ وَهَنْبَثَةٌ لَوْكُنْتَ شَاهِدَهَا لَمْ تَكْثُرِ الْخُطَبُ
>
> 2 إِنَّا فَقَدْنَاكَ فَقْدَ الْأَرْضِ وَابِلَهَا وَاخْتَلَّ قَوْمُكَ فَاشْهَدْهُمْ وَلَا تَغِبِ[156]
>
> 1. A great many events and much disorder have brought forth many words and much gossip, which for us have never been so ugly and unpleasant.
> 2. We miss you, as the barren land misses the rainfall. We are now deprived of you. And, O Prophet, your tribes have scattered. As an act of kindness, be not removed from them.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates through his chains that following this event, Abū al-Aswad said that one of the Migrants was angry that the people were paying homage to Abū Bakr without consulting with friends. Ali and Zubayr also became angry, and headed for Fāṭimah's home with their swords. In addition, Omar went with some of his men, as well as Osayd Ibn Ḥuḍayr and Salāmat Ibn Waqsh.

Fāṭimah shouted at them, and made an oath to God. But they took the swords from Ali and Zubayr and struck them against a wall, breaking both of them. Then Omar called them both out of the house and took them to the mosque to pay allegiance. In the meantime, Abū Bakr stood up to recite a sermon, but first he asked them for their excuses, saying:

إِنَّ بَيْعَتِي كَانَتْ فَلْتَةً وَقَى اللهُ شَرَّهَا.[157]

"The matter of my receiving homage from the people is beyond my control. May God save me from the consequences and the evil side of it!"

However, the deeds of the chosen caliphs and their supporters are very strange. They have done everything in the name of Islam and for its sake. It is very strange. How on earth can one take a wrong for a right? How can one take a totally negative thing for something absolutely right? Even if logic proves something wrong, lust and passion urges one to think it is quite right and on the straight path! This is all the deception of passion, as the Qur'an says:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ ارْتَدُّوا عَلَى أَدْبَارِهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْهُدَى الشَّيْطَانُ سَوَّلَ لَهُمْ وَأَمْلَى لَهُمْ

Indeed, those who turned back after guidance has been manifested to them, Satan has seduced them, and busied them with false hopes (47:25).

They were not aware that whoever wants to preclude God's commands and the path of the Prophet is a concrete sign of failure. And all the good actions of him who raises his voice to the Prophet, or treats his home clan the same as others, are falsified and destroyed, and he will carry the chains of his evils. Indeed, this is like those who do not listen to God's words when He says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تُقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ. يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَرْفَعُوا أَصْوَاتَكُمْ فَوْقَ صَوْتِ النَّبِيِّ وَلَا تَجْهَرُوا لَهُ بِالْقَوْلِ كَجَهْرِ بَعْضِكُمْ لِبَعْضٍ أَنْ تَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالُكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ.

امّا والله لقد سمعوا ورَوَعُوها ولكن حَلِيتِ الدُّنيا في أنفسهم، وراقهم زِبرِجُها، وسوف يبيِّنُهُم الله بِمَا كانوا يعملون.

O you who believe, put not yourselves forward in the presence of God and His messenger, but fear God: for God is He Who hears and knows all things. O you who believe, raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor shout when speaking to him as you shout one to another, lest your deeds become vain while you perceive not (49:1).

And indeed, they have heard and are aware that the world has a sweet taste to them, but later God will let them know what they have been doing.

May God's blessings be upon His Prophet, and upon Ali, the Master of the Faithful, and upon the immaculate and pure Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', the daughter of the Prophet, who was broken and her rights unrecognized, and with the site of her grave hidden. The innocent face aggression, and at the highest degree become martyrs. And blessings be upon the Immaculate Imams, and God's curse be upon all their enemies from now until the Day of Judgement. And there is no power and no strength save in God, the Most High, the Almighty!

Lessons One Hundred Sixteen to One Hundred Seventeen

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as the Arbiter of the Good and the Bad

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED SIXTEEN TO ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEEN

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may Allah's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

الٓمٓ ۝ أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يُتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ ۝ وَلَقَدْ فَتَنَّا الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ فَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ الْكَاذِبِينَ ۝ أَمْ حَسِبَ الَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ أَنْ يَسْبِقُونَا سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ ۝ مَنْ كَانَ يَرْجُو لِقَاءَ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ أَجَلَ اللَّهِ لَآتٍ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ ۝ وَمَنْ جَاهَدَ فَإِنَّمَا يُجَاهِدُ لِنَفْسِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَغَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ

A, L, M (alif, lām, mīm). Do men imagine that they will be left at ease because they say, We believe, and will not be tested with affliction? But We tested those who were before you, and God knows those who are sincere and knows those who feign. Or do those who do evil deeds think that they can outstrip Us? Evil is that which they decide. Whoso looks forward to the meeting with God, (let him know that) God's reckoning is surely nigh, and He is the Hearer, the Knower. And whosoever strives, strives only for himself, for indeed, God is altogether Independent of (His) creatures (29:1–6).

In the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, in a sermon delivered to the people of Basra, it is said that a man stood before Ali and said: "O Master of the Faithful, do tell us of the sedition. Have you ever asked the Prophet anything about such a matter?" Thereupon Ali said:

قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: لَمَّا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ قَوْلَهُ: «الٓمٓ، أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يُتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ» عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ الْفِتْنَةَ لَا تَنْزِلُ بِنَا وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِنَا، فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، مَا هَذِهِ الْفِتْنَةُ الَّتِي أَخْبَرَكَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِهَا؟ فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ إِنَّ أُمَّتِي سَيُفْتَنُونَ مِنْ بَعْدِي. فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَوَلَيْسَ قَدْ قُلْتَ لِي يَوْمَ أُحُدٍ حَيْثُ اسْتُشْهِدَ مَنِ اسْتُشْهِدَ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَحِيزَتْ عَنِّيَ الشَّهَادَةُ فَشَقَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَيَّ فَقُلْتَ لِي: أَبْشِرْ فَإِنَّ الشَّهَادَةَ مِنْ وَرَائِكَ؟ فَقَالَ لِي: إِنَّ ذَلِكَ لَكَذَلِكَ، فَكَيْفَ صَبْرُكَ إِذاً؟ فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، لَيْسَ هَذَا مِنْ مَوَاطِنِ الصَّبْرِ وَلَكِنْ مِنْ مَوَاطِنِ الْبُشْرَى وَالشُّكْرِ. فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ إِنَّ الْقَوْمَ لَيُفْتَنُونَ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَيَمُنُّونَ بِدِينِهِمْ عَلَى رَبِّهِمْ وَيَتَمَنَّوْنَ

رَحْمَتَهُ وَيَأْمَنُونَ سَطْوَتَهُ وَيَسْتَحِلُّونَ حَرَامَهُ بِالشُّبُهَاتِ الْكَاذِبَةِ وَالْأَهْوَاءِ السَّاهِيَةِ، فَيَسْتَحِلُّونَ الْخَمْرَ بِالنَّبِيذِ وَلُحِمَتْ بِالْهَدِيَّةِ وَالرِّبَا بِالْبَيْعِ. قُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ بِأَيِّ الْمَنَازِلِ انْزِلُهُمْ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ؟ أَبِمَنْزِلَةِ رِدَّةٍ أَمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ فِتْنَةٍ؟ قَالَ: بِمَنْزِلَةِ فِتْنَةٍ[158]

When God, the Glorified, sent down the verse: *Do men imagine that they will be left at ease because they say, We believe, and will not be tested with affliction?* (29:1–2), I came to understand that troubles would not befall us while the Prophet was among us. So I said: "O Messenger of God, what is this disturbance of which God, the Sublime, has informed you?" and he replied: "O Ali, my people will cause trouble after me." So I said: "O Messenger of God, on the Day of Uḥud, when some had fallen as martyrs and I was not among them, and this had been very irritating for me, did you not say: 'Be of good cheer, for martyrdom is for you Hereafter'?" The Prophet replied: "Yes, it is so, but what about your enduring at the moment?" I said: "O Messenger of God, this is not an occasion for endurance, but rather for good cheer and gratitude." Then he said:

> O Ali, people will fall into mischief through their wealth, will show their obligation to God on account of their faith, will expect His mercy, will feel safe from His anger and regard the unlawful as lawful by raising doubt and their misguided desires. They will then consider (the use of) wine lawful by calling it barley water, a bribe lawful by calling it a gift, and usury by calling it business.

I said, "O Messenger of God, how should I deal with them at the time, as heretics or as in revolt?" He said: "In revolt." (*Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 156.)

Sunni and Shi'a Hadiths on Testing the People for the Guardianship

Shaykh Ṭūsī has quoted Imam Ṣādiq as saying that the meaning of

يُفْتَنُونَ

is that people will be tried both by means of their wealth and their souls.

Also, 'Ayyāshī has related by means of his chains that Imam Abū al-Hasan said:

> Abbās went to Imam Ali and said: "Rise and come with me, so that I receive the allegiance of the people for your benefit." Ali answered: "So do you think they are ready to pay homage?" He said: "Yes, I do." And the Imam said:

Then, what of God's words:

الٓمٓ، أحسب الناس أن يتركوا أن يقولوا آمنا...؟

Do men imagine that they will be left at ease because they say, We believe, and will not be tested with affliction?[159]

In addition to this hadith and what is in the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī says when this verse was revealed, the Prophet said: "It is sure that sedition is on the way, and when it occurs people will be tested, to discern right from wrong. This is because revelation will cease and the sword of enmity will remain with the people until the Day of Resurrection."

Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī has related four Sunni hadiths and five from the Shi'a in his book *Ghāyat al-Marām* saying that all the interpretations of these verses are by the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams, and that they have all stated that God tests His creatures regarding their allegiance to Ali. On another occasion, it has been related from Abū Ṭālib Hiravī through his chains from 'Alqama and Abū Ayyūb, that Ibn Shahr Āshūb said that when the verse with

الٓمٓ، أحسب الناس...

was revealed, the Prophet said to Ammār:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم لعمار: انه سيكون من بعدي هناة، حتى يختلف السيف فيما بينهم، وحتى يقتل بعضهم بعضا، وحتى يتبرأ بعضهم من بعض. فاذا رايت ذلك فعليك بهذا الاصلع عن يميني علي بن أبي طالب، فان سلك الناس كلهم واديا فاسلك وادي علي، وخل عن الناس.

يا عمار ان عليا لا يردك عن هدى، ولا يردك الى ردى. يا عمار: طاعة علي طاعتي، وطاعتي طاعة الله[160]

After me there will come such a time of sedition and disbelief that swords will clash between the people. Some will hate others, and some will kill others. So when you come across such terrible things, it is your duty to back this man who sits on my right side, who has thin hair growing on his chin, who is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. And even if all the people take a way other than Ali's, it is your duty to take the way that Ali has taken, and stay away from the people. O Ammār, Ali does not lead you from the right path, and he does not lead you to what is low. O Ammār, to obey Ali is to obey me, and to obey me is to obey God.

And among the hadiths, there is one from the Sunnis concerning the following words of God:

أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يُتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ

Do men imagine that they will be left at ease because they say, We believe, and will not be tested with affliction? (29:1).

The hadith states that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said:

قال علی علیه السلام: قلت: یا رسول الله، ما هذه الفتنة؟ قال: یا علی، إنك، وانت الخاصم، فاعد للخصومة، وقال علی علیه السلام: ثم اورثنا الکتاب الذین اصطفینا من عبادنا، نحن اولئك.[161]

I asked: "O Messenger of God, what is the so-called sedition?" and he stated:

> It is a trial of the people for your sake only, and it is you that will be the target of the hatred of the enemy, so be prepared for their hatred and their enmity towards you. And Ali, concerning the verse *And after that, We bestowed the Book as the heritage for the worshippers whom We had chosen*, it is we who are the chosen worshipers of God to whom the Book has been given.

And concerning the same matter, Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm has related in his commentary that his father told him that Muhammad Ibn Fuḍayl quoted Imam Abū al-Hasan Mūsā Ibn Jaʿfar as saying:

> Abbās went to the Master of the Faithful and said: "Come with me so that the people may swear allegiance to you." The Master of the Faithful asked ʿAbbās: "Do you think they will swear allegiance?" and he answered: "Yes, I do."

Then Ali said:

الٓمٓ، احسب الناس ان یترکوا ان یقولوا آمنا وهم لا یفتنون۔ ولقد فتنا الذین من قبلهم (ای اختبرناهم) فلیعلمن الله الذین صدقوا ولیعلمن الکاذبین۔ ام حسب الذین یعملون السیئات ان یسبقونا ساء ما یحکمون۔ من کان یرجوا لقاء الله فان اجل الله لآت؟

> *Do men imagine that they will be left at ease because they say, We believe, and will not be tested with affliction?*

> God states that whoever wills to meet his Creator, death will approach him, and whoever abstains from passionate desire struggles for his soul. And indeed, God is free of needs.[162]

In addition, Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās has quoted Ahmad Ibn Hūdhat, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Isḥāq, from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ḥammād, quoting Samāᶜat Ibn Mehrān as saying:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم: كَانَ ذَاتَ لَيْلَةٍ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ، فَلَمَّا كَانَ قُرْبَ الصُّبْحِ دَخَلَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عليه السلام، فَنَادَاهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، قَالَ: لَبَّيْكَ. قَالَ: هَلُمَّ إِلَيَّ. فَلَمَّا دَنَا مِنْهُ قَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، بِتُّ اللَّيْلَةَ حَيْثُ تَرَانِي، فَقَدْ سَأَلْتُ رَبِّي أَلْفَ حَاجَةٍ فَقَضَاهَا لِي، وَسَأَلْتُ لَكَ رَبِّي أَنْ يَجْمَعَ لَكَ أُمَّتِي مِنْ بَعْدِي، فَأَبَى عَلَيَّ رَبِّي، فَقَالَ: الٓمٓ، أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يُتْرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ.[163]

Imam Ali has said that the Prophet once passed the night in the mosque, and at dawn he (Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib) walked into the mosque, and upon seeing him, the Prophet called to him. Ali said: "Here am I at your service." The Prophet then called him to come closer. When Ali approached, he said:

> O Ali! As you see, I have been secluded in the mosque throughout the night, and I have delivered to my Creator a thousand appeals and He has granted them all. Then I asked God to bring the people to you and settle their differences. However, God overlooked this request, and said: *...do men reckon that they will be left at ease for their saying, "We believe," and they will not be tried?*

Husayn Ibn Ali has quoted his father as saying:

لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ «الٓمٓ، أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ» قُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، مَا هَذِهِ الْفِتْنَةُ؟ قَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ، إِنَّكَ مُبْتَلَى وَمُبْتَلَى بِكَ، وَإِنَّكَ مُخَاصَمٌ، فَأَعِدَّ لِلْخُصُومَةِ.[164]

When the verse

الٓمٓ، أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ...

was revealed, I asked the Prophet about this test and trial, and he answered: "O Ali, you will be tested, and the people will be tested for your sake. And you will be hated by the people, so be prepared to face such enmity and turmoil."

When the usurpers wanted to grasp the caliphate (from Ali) after the Prophet's death, the people faced a great and dangerous trial.

A considerable number of people supported Ali, while some supported his opponents. There was much discussion, and even the Prophet's companions went to the mosque and debated with Abū Bakr in the presence of the people gathered there. There were shortcomings in what Abū Bakr had to say, so he descended the pulpit and left the mosque for home. After that, there was an uproar and disorder in Medina for three successive days. Then Omar brought Abū Bakr to the mosque, but in order to protect him, Othmān, Mughayrta Ibn Shuʿbah, and Maʿādh followed him, each with an army of a hundred men with unsheathed swords ready to defend Abū Bakr.

In such a state of disorder, if Ali had objected to the loyal companions of the Prophet, and fought them to get his right, without doubt there would have been much bloodshed, and a great many would have been killed. Then, immediately after the Prophet's death, Medina would have sunk into disorder, and there would have been fighting for a long time. In such a case, the disbelievers and pagans who were waiting for an occasion to attack the Muslims and weaken Islam would have jumped at the chance to carry out their plans, and the Prophet's years of struggle to establish Islam would have come to almost nothing.

This accorded with the Prophet's will, since he had said: "If you see that Medina is in danger and you do not have enough men to support you, and you cannot carry out your plan at once, do not draw your sword to fight. Even in that terrible state, wait and be patient, though patience may seem bitter,[165] for doing so saves Islam." Fighting would have had no benefit, and many memorizers of the Qurʾan and rightful companions of the Prophet would have died, and then nothing would have remained to support the religion. Then Islam would have had a brief history, rising and fading away after a short while without benefiting the world. In fact, one can understand Imam Ali's wisdom, bravery, patience, and generosity in tolerating the situation, as the Prophet had enjoined him to do. This is a real indication of the saint and friend of God who sacrifices his passions for the satisfaction of the beloved.[166]

The author of *Baʿḍu Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* in section fifty writes:

> If the Prophet had assigned Ali as caliph, according to the Shiʿa claim, then he would have called his wives and Ibn ʿAbbās, Abūdhar, Salmān, and Ammār as witnesses, and people would have known, so that today they would wonder what the fuss was about. The Prophet did assign Ali

as caliph, and this is what he said, so why is there a dispute over the guardianship?[167]

Why did they hide such a clear text? Why did people fear Abū Bakr and Omar? Did they forget God's promise, and cloud their vision of the sun? Were they afraid of the son of Abū Quḥāfah Taymī and the son of Khaṭṭāb? Did the pure companions not see what Abū Jaʿfar Bābawayh Ṭūsī, Shaytān al-Ṭāq, and Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān saw after five hundred years? Or did they see it, but turn a blind eye to it? Or were Ali, ʿAbbās, and all the Banī Hāshim incapable? And did Umm Salamah and the others accept their verdict?

These questions are answered fully in the *Baʿḍu Mathālib al-Nawāṣib*, which Abī al-Husayn Ibn Abī al-Faḍl Qazwīnī wrote at the time the *Baʿḍu Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* was published. This book is available now.

We now intend to present these matters as they were originally written, with Arabic translations.

In one, after mentioning various topics, the author states that the examples of Ali's virtues narrated by both the Shiʿa and the Sunnis are too many to mention, and according to hundreds of Sunnis, there are too many to remain hidden. Only a wise and sincere Sunni can access them in the libraries of Sāveh, Hamadān, Qazvīn, and Iṣfahān, even though he might still think that they were written by Shiʿa extremists or misinformed Sunni narrators, or that they are the innovations of Bu Jaʿfar Bābawayh or Bu Jaʿfar Ṭūsī. May a hundred curses be upon the enemies of Sayyid Murtaḍā, and both Abū Jaʿfar and Mufīd!

Khālid Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿĀṣ's Arguing with Abū Bakr about the Previous Record of Imam Ali

There are similar reports recorded in the books of the Immaculate Imams that are not exaggerated. All the imams have accepted them, and all the pure companions agree that an imam is more wise than his followers.

This correctly addresses the fact that when the Prophet passed away, the companions had discussions about the caliphate. And if the Prophet had expressed his wishes for Ali in his will, then why did the companions who were present on the day of swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr not object and speak out, saying that the Prophet had clearly explained Ali's rights?

Is it not a sign of ignorance that they did not speak out on the Day of the Saqīfa, if they knew of this? It is absolutely clear and reliable

from the authentic chains at our disposal. The Sunnis have related from Ali Ibn Jaʿfar and a board of trustees that when they paid homage to Abū Bakr at the Saqīfa Banī Sāʿidah, before long the companions, the Migrants (*muhājir*), the Supporters, and the great men of the Household went to Ali, and they all said:

يا أمير المؤمنين، تركت حقاً أنت أولى به من هذا الرجل، وقد أردنا أن ننزله عن منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم.

"O Master of the Faithful, you have given away your right, for you deserve the caliphate more than this man, and we have decided to bring him down from the Prophet's pulpit!"

They asked Ali's permission, and then went to the mosque just as Abū Bakr was on the pulpit. First, the Migrants raised their objections.

The first man to stand and speak was Khālid Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿĀṣ. After praising God and blessing Muhammad Muṣṭafā, he began to speak clearly and loudly

يا أبا بكر، اتق الله وانظر ما تقدم لعلي من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: أما علمت أن النبي قال لنا في يوم بني قريظة - وقد قتل علي عدة من رجالهم وأولي النجدة منهم -:

معاشر الناس، اوصيكم بوصية فاحفظوها، ومودع إليكم سراً فلا تضيعوه: ألا وان علياً إمامكم من بعدي، وخليفتي فيكم، بذلك أوصاني جبرئيل عن ربي.

ألا وان لم تحفظوني فيه، وتوازروه وتنصروه اختلفتم في أحكامكم، واضطرب عليكم أمر دينكم، وولي عليكم شراركم، أخبرني جبرئيل عن ربي.

ألا وان أهل بيتي هم الوارثون لأمري، والقائمون بأمر امتي. اللهم فمن أطاعهم من امتي وحفظ فيهم وصيتي فاحشرهم في زمرتي، واجعل لهم نصيباً من مرافقتي يدركون به نور الآخرة. اللهم ومن أساء خلافتي في أهل بيتي فاحرمه الجنة التي عرضها السماوات والأرض اعدت للمتقين.

O Abū Bakr, be aware of God, and observe the prestige of Ali! Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib has an overall priority for the Prophet. Do you not know that on the Day of Qurayza, when Ali had killed some of the enemy chiefs and their bravest men, the Prophet told us:

> O community of the people! I am giving you some advice, so take it and keep it with you. I am now revealing a secret to you, and try not to underestimate it. Be aware that after my demise, surely your imam is Ali, and he is my caliph among you. My Creator has commanded me through Gabriel with this covenant. Be aware that only

my Household are the inheritors of the guardianship, and they are the true ones who rise up. O my Creator! Whoever supports my Household among my nation, and fulfils what I enjoin concerning them, so assign them as mine, and may they be my friends and receive the light in the Hereafter! O my Creator! And if anyone is an enemy and shows enmity towards the guardianship that I have entrusted to my Household, bar him from entering Paradise, whose vastness is from the earth to the sky, and which has been prepared for the pious.

These are very strong words, which some scholars claim refer to the guardianship of Abū Bakr. However, he sought his own desire, but did not fully accept. But then Omar Khaṭṭāb stood up and said:

اُسْكُتْ يَا خَالِدُ فَلَسْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَشُورَةِ

"O Khālid, keep quiet! You are not on the Council!"

Khālid then addressed Omar:

بَلِ اسْكُتْ أَنْتَ يَا ابْنَ الْخَطَّابِ فَوَاللهِ مَالَكَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مُفْتَخَرٌ

"But it is you who must keep quiet, O son of Khaṭṭāb! By God, there is no honor for you among the Quraysh!" So Omar sat down.

Abūdhar Ghifārī's Argument with Abū Bakr and His Companions in the Mosque of the Prophet

After that, Abūdhar Ghifārī got to his feet, and after praising God and the Prophet, said:

يَا مَعَاشِرَ قُرَيْشٍ، قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ وَعَلِمَ أَخْيَارُكُمْ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: الْأَمْرُ مِنْ بَعْدِي لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، ثُمَّ لِلْحَسَنِ، ثُمَّ لِلْحُسَيْنِ، ثُمَّ لِلْأَئِمَّةِ مِنْ وُلْدِ الْحُسَيْنِ فَتَرَكْتُمْ قَوْلَهُ، وَنَبَذْتُمْ أَمْرَهُ وَوَصِيَّتَهُ، وَكَذَلِكَ تَرَكَتِ الْأُمَمُ الَّتِي كَفَرَتْ بَعْدَ أَنْبِيَائِهَا فَغَيَّرَتْ وَبَدَّلَتْ، فَحَاذَيْتُمُوهَا حَذْوَ النَّعْلِ بِالنَّعْلِ وَالْقُذَّةِ بِالْقُذَّةِ، وَعَمَّا قَلِيلٍ تَذُوقُونَ وَبَالَ أَمْرِكُمْ وَجَزَاءَ مَا قَدَّمَتْ أَيْدِيكُمْ، وَأَنَّ اللهَ لَيْسَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِلْعَبِيدِ

O people of the Quraysh! You and the chosen among you surely know that the Prophet stated: "After me, the guardianship belongs to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and after him it passes to Hasan and Husayn, and then the imams of the progeny of Husayn." You paid no attention to these words of the Prophet, and threw out his command and his wishes, as when previous nations became disbelievers after their prophets. They did as you have now done. They became disbelievers and changed the commands

of their prophets! You have done a similar thing, and are like their shadow, resembling them. Or like two bows, one like the other. You will soon see the consequences of you actions, and you will be paid according to what you have done, for indeed, God does not oppress His creatures.

He then sat down. This statement seems to be from Abūdhar, and not Abū Jaʿfar or Mufīd. It is a good proof for stopping an anti-Shiʿa usurper from saying: "Why did they not reject it? Why did they not bring a proof?" But he is both, and blind!

Salmān Fārsī and Miqdād Ibn Aswad's Argument with Abū Bakr in the Mosque

After that, Salmān Fārsī stood up. First he praised God and blessed Muhammad, and then started talking loudly, as follows:

يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ إِلَى مَنْ تُسْنِدُ أَمْرَكَ إِذَا نَزَلَ بِكَ الْقَضَاءُ، وَإِلَى مَنْ تَفْزَعُ إِذَا سُئِلْتَ عَمَّا لَا تَعْلَمُ، مَا عُذْرُكَ فِي التَّقَدُّمِ، وَفِي الْقَوْمِ مَنْ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ مِنْكَ، وَأَقْرَبُ بِرَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَرَابَةً مِنْكَ، قَدَّمَهُ النَّبِيُّ فِي حَيَاتِهِ، وَأَوْعَزَ إِلَيْكُمْ عِنْدَ وَفَاتِهِ، فَنَبَذْتُمْ قَوْلَهُ، وَتَنَاسَيْتُمْ وَصِيَّتَهُ، فَمَا قَلِيلٍ يَصْفُو لَكَ الْأَمْرُ وَقَدِ اثْقَلْتَ ظَهْرَكَ بِالْأَوْزَارِ، وَحَمَلْتَ إِلَى قَبْرِكَ مَا قَدَّمَتْ يَدَاكَ فَإِنَّكَ سَمِعْتَ، مَا سَمِعْنَا، وَ رَأَيْتَ مَا رَأَيْنَا۔ إِلَى آخِرِهِ[168]

O Abū Bakr! When destiny comes to you from God, whom are you going to trust in your affairs? Whom are you going to rely on? With whom will you take shelter, to protect you from dangers when you are questioned about that for which you have no answer?

And what is your excuse for taking the lead? For there surely must be one amongst the tribe who is wiser than you, whose closeness to the Prophet is closer than yours. He is the one whom the Prophet loved in his lifetime and at his death, for he nominated him as the imam for the nation!

You ignored the Prophet's statement, and did not take care of his will, pretending that you had forgotten it! Then you assumed that you would take the guardianship. But you are leaning on the heavy load of your crimes, and are sending them in advance to your grave! You have not heard that which we are aware of, and you have seen that which we know nothing about.

Let any anti-Shi'a man know that he has ignored the facts and the straightforward words of the Migrants and the Supporters. It is not some invention of separatists in Qum or Kāshān, since the right was with Ali, and will remain so forever.

After that, Miqdād Ibn Aswad al-Kindī stood up, and said at the top of his voice:

يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ! إِنَّكَ عَلَى ظُلْمِكَ [وَقِلَّةِ شِبْرِكَ][169] بِفَتْرِكَ! وَالْزَمْ بَيْتَكَ! وَابْكِ عَلَى خَطِيئَتِكَ! وَارْدُدْ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَى! مَنْ هُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنْكَ! فَلَا تَتَزَيَّنْ بِدُنْيَاكَ! وَلَا تُغَرِّرْكَ قُرَيْشٌ [وَغَيْرُهَا]! فَمَا قَلِيلٍ تَضْمَحِلُّ عَنْكَ دُنْيَاكَ! وَتَصِيرُ إِلَى آخِرَتِكَ! وَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ أَنَّ عَلِيّاً صَاحِبُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، فَأَعْطِهِ مَا جَعَلَهُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ لَهُ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ [لَكَ] فِي دُنْيَاكَ، وَأَسْلَمُ لَكَ فِي آخِرَتِكَ!

O Abū Bakr, know your defects; you are too weak, so stop doing things that you cannot bear! Cut your coat according to your cloth, and do not exceed your limits, and be careful, and cry for your sins and mistakes. Give this guardianship to one who is more capable than you. Do not be proud of your world, and try not to let any of the Quraysh and others cheat you, and cause you to be proud of yourself, because before long your world will tear apart and vanish, and you will return to the next world. You truly know that the real possessor of guardianship is Ali, so give back to Ali whatever God and his Prophet have given him. It would be much better for this world of yours, and would save you in the Hereafter, and make it secure for you.

He then took his seat, let down by the anti-Shi'a by their not taking this explicit advice seriously, who should have known that it is crystal-clear that the proof is fixed, and Ali is the imam through God's mercy.

Then Buraydah al-Aslamī stood up, and after praising God and honoring the Prophet with peace and blessings, he said:

يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ! أَنَسِيتَ أَمْ تَنَاسَيْتَ؟! أَمَا عَلِمْتَ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم: أَمَرَنَا أَنْ نُسَلِّمَ عَلَى عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي حَيَاتِهِ، فَسَلَّمْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَأَنْتَ مَعَنَا وَالنَّبِيُّ يَتَهَلَّلُ وَجْهُهُ فَرَحاً! لَا يَدْرِي مِنْ طَاعَةِ أَمْرِهِ لِأَيْنِ عَمِّهِ؟ فَلَوْ عَمِلْتُمْ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ لَكَانَ خَيْراً لَكُمْ فِي دُنْيَاكُمْ وَآخِرَتِكُمْ، وَقَدْ سَمِعْتَ مَا سَمِعْنَا، وَرَأَيْتَ مَا رَأَيْنَا، وَالسَّلَامُ

O Abū Bakr! Have you forgotten, or do you pretend to be forgetful? Do you not know that the Prophet, even during his lifetime, commanded us to swear allegiance to Ali and greet him as the Master of the Faithful?

This we did, and you were also with us, and upon seeing the nation's obedience to his cousin, the Prophet's face was as bright as the moon! If, after the demise of the Prophet, you acted the same, it would be better for you in this world and the world to come. You heard exactly what we heard, and you saw what we saw—and may peace be upon you.

The anti-Shi'a should know that these strong words spoken to Abū Bakr on the Day of the Covenant are not the words of an extremist, and that to reject them shows enmity towards Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

After that, Ammār Yāsir stood up, and after praising God and offering peace and blessings upon Muhammad Muṣṭafā, he said:

يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ أَنَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ أَقْرَبُ بِرَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم قَرَابَةً مِنْكُمْ، فَرُدُّوا هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَى مَنْ هُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنْكُمْ، وَلَا تَرْتَدُّوا عَلَى أَدْبَارِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ.

"O people of the Quraysh! You know that the Household is nearer to the Messenger of God than you are. So turn the caliphate over to one who deserves it more than you do. And do not go backwards, for then you will lose your value and will be destroyed."

It seems that this statement is not the statement of Haskā Abū Ṭālib Bābawayh delivered after five hundred years. It was delivered right at the beginning when Abū Bakr was on the pulpit and speaking to the congregation. However, the right was then with Ḥaydar.

After that, Qays Ibn Sa'd 'Ibādah spoke. After praising God and offering peace and blessings upon Muhammad Muṣṭafā he said:

يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ اتَّقِ اللهَ، وَانْظُرْ مَا تَقَدَّمَ لِعَلِيٍّ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم، وَارْدُدْ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَى مَنْ هُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنْكَ، وَلَا تَكُنْ أَوَّلَ مَنْ عَصَى مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ، وَارْدُدْ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ إِلَيْهِمْ، تَخِفَّ ذُنُوبُكَ، وَتَقِلَّ أَوْزَارُكَ، وَتَلْقَى مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم وَهُوَ رَاضٍ عَنْكَ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَنْ تَلْقَاهُ وَهُوَ عَلَيْكَ سَاخِطٌ.

O Abū Bakr! Be aware of God, and consider Ali's record with the Prophet. Therefore, turn over this caliphate to one who is more deserving, and has a right to it. And try not to be like those people who from the beginning caused enmity between the people and the Household. Turn the affairs of the caliphate over to them. In this way, your sins decrease, and your heavy load lessens, for when you encounter Muhammad, it is better for you if he is pleased with you and not angry.

He delivered a very long speech, which we have shortened here. The core of his speech was about the imamate of Ali and the rejection

of the so-called "paying of homage." I am sure that it does not reflect the words of the accursed Satan or Yunes Ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, but that of the Migrants and Supporters.

Then Khuzaymah Thābit Dhu al-Shahādatayn stood up and said:

مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ أَلَسْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم قَبِلَ شَهَادَتِي وَحْدِي وَلَمْ تَزِدْ مَعِي غَيْرِي؟ قَالُوا: بَلَى، فَاشْهَدْ بِمَا تَشْهَدُ، قَالَ: أَشْهَدُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: أَهْلُ بَيْتِي كَالنُّجُومِ، قَدَّمُوهُمْ، فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ قَدَّمْتُمُوهُمْ اسْلَكُوا بِكُمْ طَرِيقَ الْهُدَى، وَإِنْ تَقَدَّمْتُمُوهُمْ اسْلَكْتُمْ طَرِيقَ الضَّلَالَةِ ثُمَّ سَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ: عَلِيٌّ فِيكُمْ كَسَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ مَنْ رَكِبَهَا نَجَا، وَمَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْهَا غَرِقَ. وَعَلِيٌّ فِيكُمْ كَهَارُونَ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [خَلَّفْتُهُ عَلَيْكُمْ] كَمَا خَلَّفَهُ مُوسَى عَلَى قَوْمِهِ وَمَضَى إِلَى مُنَاجَاةِ رَبِّهِ

"O people! Do you not know that the Prophet would accept my witness alone, that is, he would not ask for anyone else's witness along with mine?"

[They said: "So bear witness to what you are witness to," and he continued:]

> I bear witness that the Prophet said: "Those of my Household are as shining stars, so take them as your guides to direct you! If you give them priority over you, they will guide you to the straight path, but if you take the lead, then you will become lost." And I heard him saying: "Ali's similarity to you is like Noah's Ark—whoever boards it is saved, but he who does not will be drowned." And I heard him say: "The similarity of Ali among you is like Aaron among the Children of Israel. I assigned him as your caliph as Moses assigned his brother, and then went to his Creator with a whispered prayer."

I believe the caliph accepted the witness of Khuzaymah, even if he lied by saying that Qāḍī Hasan Astarābādī did not accept the witness of the Shiᶜa. However, Muhammad Muṣṭafā, who is the judge of this world and the Hereafter, accepts Khuzaymah's witness, just to remove doubt.

Then Obay Ibn Kaᶜb stood up and said:

مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ، إِنِّي لَأَعِظُكُمْ بِمَا كَثِيرًا وَعَظَكُمْ بِهِ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم، وَلَا تَسْمَعُونَ مِنِّي إِلَّا أَكْبَرَ مَا سَمِعْتُمْ مِنْ نَبِيِّكُمْ[170] اشْهَدُوا عَلَيَّ أَنِّي أَشْهَدُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم أَنِّي رَأَيْتُهُ وَهُوَ وَاقِفٌ فِي هَذَا الْمَكَانِ وَكَفُّ عَلِيٍّ فِي كَفِّهِ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: هَذَا إِمَامُكُمْ مِنْ

بَعْدِي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِيكُمْ، فَلَا تُقَدِّمُوهُ وَلَا تَتَقَدَّمُوهُ وَاسْمَعُوا لَهُ وَأَطِيعُوا فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ أَطَعْتُمُوهُ دَخَلْتُمُ الْجَنَّةَ، وَإِنْ عَصَيْتُمُوهُ دَخَلْتُمُ النَّارَ

O people! I preach to you just as the Prophet used to preach to you. And that which you are hearing from me is that which you have heard from your great Prophet. Bear witness, for now I bear witness that I saw the Prophet standing right in this place, and while holding Ali by the arm, he said:

> This is your imam among you after me. So honor his priority over you, and do not show your own privilege in front of him. He is your imam after me, and my successor for you. Do not assume to be above him, and listen to his command and obey him. Whoever among you obeys him, he will surely enter Paradise, but those who disobey will surely be cast into the Fire.

I believe that the wrongful caliph should know by this explicit text that it refers to the rightfulness of Ali, and the rejection of the one who was elected, and that the companions were not unaware of it.

After him, Sahl Ibn Hunayf Anṣārī stood up and said:

يَا مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: عَلِيٌّ إِمَامُكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِي وَخَلِيفَتِي فِيكُمْ، [بِذَلِكَ] أَوْصَانِي جَبْرَئِيلُ عَنْ رَبِّي. أَلَا إِنَّ عَلِيًّا هُوَ الذَّائِدُ عَنْ حَوْضِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَهُوَ قَسِيمُ النَّارِ وَالْجَنَّةِ، يُدْخِلُ الْجَنَّةَ مَنْ أَحَبَّهُ وَتَوَلَّاهُ، وَيُدْخِلُ النَّارَ مَنْ أَبْغَضَهُ وَقَلَاهُ

O people! I heard the Prophet say: "After me, Ali is your imam, and he is my successor among you; it is Gabriel who has informed me of this by the permission of my Creator."

> Know that it is Ali who will scatter the opponents and hypocrites away from Kawthar [a river in Paradise]. He is the divider of Paradise and Hell! He lets those who love him and accept his guardianship enter Paradise, and casts whoever hates him and is his enemy into the Fire.

This strong statement concerning Ali's guardianship was spoken at the gathering of the Migrants and Supporters so that the usurper caliph might understand that the religion of the Shi'a is old and everlasting. It was not invented by Jahm Ṣafwān or selfish people, nor was it a foreign religion from those who were not Shi'a.

The next to stand and speak was Abū al-Haytham Ibn al-Ta yyahān, who said:

يَا مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ، اشْهَدُوا عَلَى أَنِّي أَشْهَدُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله أَنِّي سَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ: مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ.

"O people! Bear witness that I now give evidence that I heard the Prophet say: 'Of whomsoever I am master, so also is Ali his master.'"

When the Supporters heard these words, they said: "In this way he seeks the guardianship," and the Quraysh said: "He wants a permanent guardianship."

The Prophet heard about the dispute, and early in the morning he took Ali by the hand and set out for the mosque, where he said:

مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ، إِنَّ عَلِيًّا فِيكُمْ كَالسَّمَاءِ السَّابِعَةِ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ. وَعَلِيٌّ فِيكُمْ كَالشَّمْسِ فِي الْفَلَكِ، بِهَا تَهْتَدِي النُّجُومُ. وَعَلِيٌّ إِمَامُكُمْ وَخَلِيفَتِي فِيكُمْ، بِذَلِكَ أَوْصَانِي جَبْرَئِيلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَنْ رَبِّي، وَ أَخَذَ اللهُ مِيثَاقَهُ عَلَى أَهْلِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرَضِينَ مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالْإِنْسِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ، فَمَنْ أَقَرَّ بِهِ وَآمَنَ بِهِ كَانَ مُؤْمِنًا وَهُوَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَمَنْ أَنْكَرَهُ جَحَدَ كَانَ كَافِرًا وَهُوَ فِي النَّارِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.

O people! Surely among you, Ali is like the seventh sky amid the skies! And among you, Ali is like the sun in the firmament, by which the stars move and find their way. And Ali is your imam, and my successor among you. Gabriel informed me of this from my Creator. And for the guardianship of Ali, God has taken the covenants of the sky and the earth, and the *jinn* and the angels to bear witness. Therefore, whoever confesses belief in Ali is faithful, and he will be in Paradise on that Day that is to come. But whoever denies him is a disbeliever, and he will be in the Fire on that Day.

Abū al-Haytham relates that the Prophet spoke these words before Abū Bakr, Omar, and all the Migrants and Supporters. It is an explicit statement by the Prophet concerning Ali's imamate and guardianship, and not the words of a hardline Shi'i from Qum or Kāshān, so let the so-called caliph know that the truth will out!

The next to stand and speak was Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī. After praising God and offering salutations to the Prophet, he said:

يَا مَعْشَرَ النَّاسِ، أَقُولُ: اتَّقُوا اللهَ فِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ فَلَا تَظْلِمُوهُمْ فَقَدْ سَمِعْتُمْ مَا أَعَدَّ اللهُ لِلظَّالِمِينَ [فَإِنَّهُ كَمَا قَالَ أَنَا أَعْتَدْنَا لِلظَّالِمِينَ] نَارًا أَحَاطَ بِهِمْ سُرَادِقُهَا، وَقَالَ: إِنَّ الَّذِينَ [يَأْكُلُونَ أَمْوَالَ الْيَتَامَى ظُلْمًا إِنَّمَا] يَأْكُلُونَ فِي بُطُونِهِمْ نَارًا وَسَيَصْلَوْنَ سَعِيرًا.

O people! Concerning how to deal with the Household of the Prophet, turn to God and fear Him, so that He does not afflict you. You have heard what God has prepared for the oppressors, for He has said: *We have prepared a fire whose flames, ashes and smoke encircle them everywhere*, and *Surely those who devour the property of the orphan unjustly ingest nothing into their bellies but fire, and will finally end in a fierce blaze.*

When his speech reached this point, the people in the mosque wept with sorrow, and they stood up together and walked out of the mosque. Abū Bakr remained in the pulpit confused, and Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ approached and took him to his house. Riots went on for three successive days, and on the third day, Othmān Ibn Affān appeared with Muqayrat Ibn Shuʿbah, each with a hundred armed men with unsheathed swords in their hands, ready to fight.[171]

As the writer of the book claims to be a historian, he must be aware of the fact that Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, along with a large crowd, took Abū Bakr by the hand and went to the mosque, demanding that those gathered there pay homage. It was then that Khālid Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿĀṣ stood up and said:

يَا عُمَرُ أَفَبِأَسْيَافِكُمْ تُهَدِّدُونَنَا؟ أَمْ بِجَمْعِكُمْ تُفَزِّعُونَنَا؟ وَاللهِ لَوْلَا أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ طَاعَةَ إِمَامِي أَوْجَبُ مِنْ جِهَادِ عَدُوِّي إِذًا لَضَرَبْتُكُمْ بِسَيْفِي هَذَا.

"O Omar! Are you threatening us with your bare swords and your men? By God, if I were not aware that obedience to my imam is more incumbent upon me than *jihād*, I would strike you with this sword of mine!"

Then he said:

ائْذَنْ لِي يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي جِهَادِ أَعْدَائِكَ.

"O Master of the Faithful, let me fight your enemy!"

But Ali did not allow him to do this, because of the present situation and the declaration of authority soon after the death of the Prophet. He was afraid of the enemy, and the mocking of the Migrants and the Supporters caused him to sit and wait. Again, each one of these great men stood up in the mosque to speak, all of which has been recorded in various books.

Ali made everyone sit, for it was their duty to respect him. They obeyed him and sat down. At first they believed it was their duty to fight. However, the so-called caliph thought it was a small incident, because the religion was new, and this was just a group of lowly people trying to interfere with it.

Praise be to God that neither Ali, ᶜAbbās, nor any of his companions concealed their feelings.

First of all, there are clear statements saying that Ali is the first proof, and men of wisdom know it is not right for the world to lack such an imam. Secondly, it is testified to in the Qurʾan that its verses have been revealed for Ali's sake. Thirdly, there are also the words of Muhammad Muṣṭafā. Fourthly, there is the unanimous opinion of the rightful Shiᶜa, which cannot be explained thoroughly in this brief book. And contrary to what the anti-Shiᶜa might say, Ali's imamate is as clear as crystal.

First of all, there is the following in a famous sermon:

أَمَا وَاللهِ لَقَدْ تَقَمَّصَهَا ابْنُ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ وَإِنَّهُ لَيَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مَحَلِّي مِنْهَا مَحَلُّ الْقُطْبِ مِنَ الرَّحَى

which means: "Abū Bakr wears the shirt of the caliphate, while he knows that I am the axis of the mill." Then, when it was Omar's turn, he said:

فَيَا عَجَبًا بَيْنَا هُوَ يَسْتَقِيلُهَا فِي حَيَاتِهِ إِذْ عَقَدَهَا لِآخَرَ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ.

"It is very surprising that as he departed on the day of his death he should deliver authority to Omar." And he rejects Omar with this statement:

جَعَلَهَا فِي جَمَاعَةٍ زَعَمَ أَنِّي أَحَدُهُمْ، فَيَا لِلهِ وَلِلشُّورَى.

"How wide a gap there is between the council and me."

إِلَى أَنْ قَامَ ثَالِثُ الْقَوْمِ نَافِجًا حِضْنَيْهِ.

All this demonstrates the denial of Ali's right.

It is surprising that after five hundred years, only ordinary people became aware of the fact, but Ali, ᶜAbbās, Salmān, Abūdhar, the Migrants, and the Supporters did not live to see it. But they obviously knew that they had not invented it, and that any gatherings against Ali were baseless, and any plan that opposed the will of Hasan and Husayn was void. And any argument about Salmān, Abūdhar, Miqdād, Khuzaymah, and Abū Ayyūb is considered doubtful. The following words prove the fact:

أَلَا إِنَّ الْحَقَّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، وَعَلِيٌّ مَعَ الْحَقِّ يَدُورُ مَعَهُ حَيْثُمَا دَارَ.

Be aware that the Right is with Ali and so is Ali with the Right, and the Right always follows Ali, wherever he goes it turns to him.

This is the religion for the people of truth, and is not an answer for the doubtful, and the rightful imam after Muhammad Muṣṭafā was the Master of the Faithful. He is like the manifest text from the

Lord of the Worlds, and he is the spirit of the great prophets. And praise belongs to God, the Lord of the Worlds.[172]

We should mention that the objections of the Migrants and Supporters, which we have explained, as well as the opinions of the great and respected Abū al-Jalīl, have been recorded in various Sunni and Shi'a books.

One of them was the great Shaykh Abū Ja'far, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khālid Ibn 'Abdullāh Barqī, from the town of Barq in Qum, who was one of the chiefs of his religion in Kūfa. He died either in 280 AH or six years earlier.[173] This great shaykh mentions in his *Rijāl*, known as the *Rijāl Barqī*, under the title of "The Rejectors," twelve men, six of whom were from the Migrants and six from the Supporters. The six Migrants were Khālid Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-'Āṣ, who was from the Banī Omayyad, Abūdhar Ghifārī, Salmān Fārsī, Miqdād Ibn Aswad, Buraydah Aslamī, and Ammār Yāsir; and the six Supporters were Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, Abū al-Haytham Ibn Tayyhān, Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn Obayda Khazrajī, Abī Ibn Ka'b, and Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī. He says: "All these went to the mosque on a Friday, and then stood up, one after another, to object to Abū Bakr while he was speaking from the pulpit."

We have already mentioned their straightforward objections against Abū Bakr's caliphate and their support of Ali. We mentioned all of their objections in detail, up to the last words of Abū Ayyūb, who said:

اتق الله[174] وردوا الأمر الى أهل بيت نبيكم، قد سمعتم ما سمعنا، ان القائم مقام نبينا بعد علی بن أبی طالب علیه السلام، وانه لا يبلغ عنه الا هو، ولا ينصح لامته غيره

"So fear God, and turn this caliphate over to the rightful man of the Household of the Prophet. You have certainly heard what we have heard. In fact, the rightful successor of the Prophet is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. None can propagate the Prophet's words except Ali, and none but him can advise the nation."

He finished speaking, and Abū Bakr descended from the pulpit. It was the following Friday that Omar unsheathed his sword and cried: "I am not interested in hearing the words that that man spoke in the mosque, for if I do I shall behead him with this sword of mine!" Then he and Salīm Mawlā Abū Ḥudhayfah, Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal, and Abū Obayda unsheathed their swords and set out for Abū Bakr's house and brought him to the mosque, where he climbed the pulpit.[175]

There is also the great Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Bābawayh Qummī, or Shaykh Ṣadūq, who died in 381 AH. In his *Khiṣāl* he quotes the grandson of Barqī as saying that he

heard Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn ᶜAbdullāh and Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abī ᶜAbdullāh Barqī saying: "It is related from Nahīkī, through Abū Muhammad Khalaf Ibn Salīm, from Muhammad Ibn Jaᶜfar, from Shuᶜbah and Othmān Ibn Mughayrah, that Zayd Ibn Wahab said that there were twelve men from among the Migrants and Supporters who objected to Abū Bakr's taking of the caliphate from the Master of the Faithful."

He then relates the event as it happened. However, amongst those present, he mentions Qays Ibn Saᶜd Ibn ᶜIbādah instead of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Masᶜūd.[176]

Another is the great religious scholar Shaykh Abū Manṣūr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarsī (d. 548 AH), the author of *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*. He was a contemporary of Abū al-Futūḥ Rāḍī (d. 577 AH). His student Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb died in 588 AH. He has mentioned this in detail in his *Iḥtijāj*, in the section called

ذكر طرف مما جرى بعد وفاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم من اللجاج والحجاج في أمر الخلافة

He quotes the hadith from Abān Ibn Taghlib, who heard it from Imam Ṣādiq. The only small difference is in the names of the twelve men, where he mentions Sahl's brother Othmān Ibn Ḥunayf instead of Qays Ibn Saᶜd Ibn ᶜIbādah.[177]

Then there is the great and noble Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs Ḥusaynī Ḥillī, who died in 664 AH. He is famous among the greatest of the scholars, and has mentioned it in his book entitled

كَشْفُ اليَقِين فِي اخْتِصَاصِ مَوْلَانَا عَلِيٍّ بِإِمْرَةِ المُؤْمِنِين

which is also known as *Kitāb al-Yaqīn*,[178] in a section about the matters that Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī, known as Khalīlī, related from Sunni books. He mentions the twelve who objected after Abū Bakr took the caliphate. He also mentions some of the companions who recalled the Prophet's calling Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib "Master of the Faithful." Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī has also narrated this story in his history entitled *The Virtues of the Imams*. However, certain authors other than Ṭabarī have exaggerated it in their descriptions.

He then says that we should know that the Shiᶜa have successively related this narrative, and that if the hadith belonged only to the Shiᶜa, he would not have related it. This is because Shiᶜa scholars are rejected by Sunni scholars, and they are therefore only quoted as the main writers responsible for it. He then says: "Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī has related it exactly as it is. He has related the story of the twelve men who denied Abū Bakr while he sat in the pulpit of the Prophet." And he continues: "Ahmad Ibn Abī Husayn ᶜĀmirī said

to us: 'I was told by my uncle, Abū Muʿammar Shuʿbah Khaytham Asadī, that Othmān Aʿshā had quoted Zayd Ibn Wahab.' He then went on to tell us the whole story."[179]

ʿAllāmah Majlisī has related the story of the twelve objectors in detail in three books, the *Khiṣāl*, the *Iḥtijāj*, and the *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, and commented on it.[180]

Also, the late Ayatollāh Shaykh ʿAbdullāh Māmaqānī has written a chapter in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* about these twelve men, and has added the hadith of the *Khiṣāl* from the *Biḥār al-Anwār*, as well as the hadith of the *Iḥtijāj*.[181]

Therefore, the objections of the companions of the Prophet and the followers of Ali to the caliphates of Abū Bakr and Omar are very clear light, and remain unquestioned in the historical records. Right from the start, the Shiʿa considered the chosen caliph and his successors to be usurpers.

Abdullah ʿAnān Muhāmī says:

وَكَانَ لِعَلِيٍّ حِزْبٌ يُنَاصِرُهُ بِخِلَافِ عَقِبِ النَّبِيِّ مُبَاشَرَةً، وَيَرَى أَنَّهُ هُوَ وَبَنُوهُ أَحَقُّ النَّاسِ بِهَا.

"And there was a party of supporters of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib who were to announce his caliphate after the Messenger of God. They believed that he, as well as his offspring, deserved to be caliph more than the others."

He continues:

وَمِنَ الْخَطَأِ أَنْ يُقَالَ: إِنَّ الشِّيعَةَ إِنَّمَا ظَهَرُوا لِأَوَّلِ مَرَّةٍ عِنْدَ انْشِقَاقِ الْخَوَارِجِ، وَإِنَّهُمْ سُمُّوا كَذَلِكَ لِبَقَائِهِمْ إِلَى جَانِبِ عَلِيٍّ. فَشِيعَةُ عَلِيٍّ ظَهَرُوا مُنْذُ وَفَاةِ النَّبِيِّ كَمَا قَدَّمْنَا.[182]

"And it is wrong to say that the people of the Shiʿa came into existence when the Khawārij separated from Ali's army, and they were called the Shiʿa because they were the followers of Ali. As we have already mentioned, Ali's Shiʿa came to be after the demise of the Prophet."

Ibn Khaldūn's Words at the Beginning of Shiʿa Rule, Soon after the Demise of the Prophet

Ibn Khaldūn says:

مَبْدَأُ دَوْلَةِ الشِّيعَةِ: إِعْلَمْ أَنَّ مَبْدَأَ هَذِهِ الدَّوْلَةِ أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ لَمَّا تُوُفِّيَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ كَانُوا يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ أَحَقُّ بِالْأَمْرِ، وَأَنَّ الْخِلَافَةَ لِرِجَالِهِمْ دُونَ مَنْ سِوَاهُمْ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ.

"Know that the government originated after the demise of the Prophet, and the Household were sure that they deserved the caliphate, and that it would be from among them, and not from any of the others, such as the tribes of the Quraysh."

Then he says:

وَفِي الصَّحِيحِ أَيْضاً أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم قَالَ فِي مَرَضِهِ الَّذِي تُوُفِّيَ فِيهِ: هَلُمُّوا أَكْتُبْ لَكُمْ كِتَاباً لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدَهُ أَبَداً. فَاخْتَلَفُوا عِنْدَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَتَنَازَعُوا وَلَمْ يَتِمَّ الْكِتَابُ. وَكَانَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ يَقُولُ: الرَّزِيَّةُ كُلُّ الرَّزِيَّةِ مَا حَالَ بَيْنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه (و آله) وسلم وَبَيْنَ ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابِ لِاخْتِلَافِهِمْ وَلَغَطِهِمْ. حَتَّى لَقَدْ ذَهَبَ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الشِّيعَةِ إِلَى أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم أَوْصَى فِي مَرَضِهِ ذَلِكَ لِعَلِيٍّ وَلَمْ يَصِحَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ وَجْهٍ يُعَوَّلُ عَلَيْهِ، وَقَدْ أَنْكَرَتْ هَذِهِ الْوَصِيَّةَ عَائِشَةُ وَكَفَى بِإِنْكَارِهَا.

Then he says:

وَفِي قِصَّةِ الشُّورَى أَنَّ جَمَاعَةً مِنَ الصَّحَابَةِ كَانُوا يَتَشَيَّعُونَ لِعَلِيٍّ، وَيَرَوْنَ اسْتِحْقَاقَهُ عَلَى غَيْرِهِ، وَلَمَّا عُدِلَ بِهِ إِلَى سِوَاهُ تَأَسَّفُوا مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَأَسِفُوا لَهُ مِثْلُ الزُّبَيْرِ وَمَعَهُ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ وَالْمِقْدَادُ بْنُ الْأَسْوَدِ وَغَيْرُهُمْ، إِلَّا أَنَّ الْقَوْمَ لِرُسُوخِ قَدَمِهِمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَحَرْصِهِمْ عَلَى الْأُلْفَةِ لَمْ يَزِيدُوا فِي ذَلِكَ عَلَى النَّجْوَى بِالتَّأَفُّفِ وَالْأَسَفِ.[183]

It is also written in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that when the Prophet had fallen ill and was about to die, he said to those gathered in the room: "Come, I am going to write my will to prevent your going astray after I have gone." But they began arguing in front of him, and the letter was not written.

Ibn ᶜAbbās would say: "Disaster! The greatest disaster came about because of the disagreement within that assembly over the Prophet and that letter." Most of the Shiᶜa believe that the Prophet made his will known during his final illness, and he selected Ali as his successor. However, it was not accepted, because ᶜĀyisha denied any such covenant, and her sole disagreement was enough to invalidate the will.[184]

Regarding the Council, a handful of the Prophet's companions always followed his command. They accepted his Shiᶜism, and preferred to obey him rather than others. However, when the caliphate deviated, they lost hope and despaired, like Zubayr, Ammār, and Yāsir, who were very close. As they were sincere and loyal to Ali, and loved their religion more than the others did, they did not use their swords to fight their enemies, but waited to see the outcome.

Masʿūdī's Statement in Support of the Shiʿa Scholars Concerning Imam Ali

The great historian Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Husayn Masʿūdī (d. 346 AH) says:

وَقَدْ كَانَ عَمَّارٌ حِينَ بُويِعَ عُثْمَانُ، بَلَغَهُ قَوْلُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ: صَخْرُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ فِي دَارِ عُثْمَانَ، عَقِيبَ الْوَقْتِ الَّذِي بُويِعَ فِيهِ عُثْمَانُ وَدَخَلَ دَارَهُ وَمَعَهُ بَنُو أُمَيَّةَ قَالَ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ: أَفِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟ - وَقَدْ كَانَ عَمِيَ - قَالُوا: لَا، قَالَ: يَا بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ، تَلَقَّفُوهَا تَلَقُّفَ الْكُرَةِ، فَوَالَّذِي يَحْلِفُ بِهِ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ مَا زِلْتُ أَرْجُوهَا لَكُمْ، وَلَتَصِيرَنَّ إِلَى صِبْيَانِكُمْ وِرَاثَةً، فَأَنْهَرَهُ عُثْمَانُ وَسَاءَهُ مَا قَالَ.

وَنَمَى هَذَا الْقَوْلَ إِلَى الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ الْكَلَامِ.

فَقَامَ عَمَّارٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ فَقَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، أَمَا إِذَا صَرَفْتُمْ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ عَنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ هَهُنَا مَرَّةً وَهَهُنَا مَرَّةً، فَمَا آمَنُ أَنْ يَنْزِعَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْكُمْ، فَيَضَعَهُ فِي غَيْرِكُمْ كَمَا وَضَعْتُمُوهُ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَوَضَعْتُمُوهُ فِي غَيْرِ أَهْلِهِ!

وَقَامَ الْمِقْدَادُ فَقَالَ: مَا رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ مَا أُوذِيَ بِهِ أَهْلُ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ بَعْدَ نَبِيِّهِمْ. فَقَالَ لَهُ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ: وَمَا أَنْتَ وَذَاكَ يَا مِقْدَادُ بْنَ عَمْرٍو؟!

فَقَالَ: إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ لَأُحِبُّهُمْ لِحُبِّ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ إِيَّاهُمْ، وَإِنَّ الْحَقَّ مَعَهُمْ وَفِيهِمْ. يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ أَعْجَبُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ - وَإِنَّمَا تَطَوُّلُهُمْ عَلَى النَّاسِ بِفَضْلِ أَهْلِ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ - قَدِ اجْتَمَعُوا عَلَى نَزْعِ سُلْطَانِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ بَعْدَهُ مِنْ أَيْدِيهِمْ، أَمَا وَاللَّهِ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ لَوْ أَجِدُ عَلَى قُرَيْشٍ أَنْصَارًا لَقَاتَلْتُهُمْ كَمَا قَاتَلَ إِيَّاهُمْ مَعَ النَّبِيِّ - عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ - يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ.

وَجَرَى بَيْنَهُمْ مِنَ الْكَلَامِ خُطَبٌ طَوِيلٌ قَدْ أَتَيْنَا عَلَى ذِكْرِهِ فِي كِتَابِنَا «أَخْبَارِ الزَّمَانِ» فِي أَخْبَارِ الشُّورَى وَالدَّارِ.[185]

Then later, when they swore allegiance to Othmān, they went together with the Banī Omayyad to his house. Before that, Ammār Ibn Yāsir was informed that Abū Sufyān, whose real name was Sakhr Ibn Ḥarb, had asked some of the Banī Omayyad whether there was an outsider among them. This was because Abū Sufyān had lost his sight and could not see them.[186] They answered: "No." So Abū Sufyān said: "O Banī Omayyad! Keep this caliphate like a ball with which to play, and pass it around. By whom Abū Sufyān now swears, I always hoped you would get the caliphate and leadership. And it must go to your offspring after you."

Othmān disliked these words and told him so. These words and other similar ones then found their way to the Migrants and Supporters.

Then Ammār Yāsir stood up in the Prophet's Mosque and said: "O people of the Quraysh, be aware that you are manipulating this caliphate away from the Household. On one day you do it one way, and another the next! I am not at peace, for I fear that God may take it from you and leave it with others, just as you took it from the real owner and gave it to a stranger."

After Ammār, Miqdād stood up and said: "I have never seen any suffer as much as the Household have gone through with this aggravation." Then, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ᶜAuf asked him: "What business have you interfering in this matter, O Miqdād Ibn ᶜAmr?" Miqdād responded:

By God, because of God's affection for them, I love them, and I am sure that the right is on their side. O ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, I am surprised that you have supported the Quraysh and made them dominate the virtuous Household. Know that after the demise of the Prophet they struggled to get the caliphate away from the Household! Be aware, O ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān! If I could find supporters of my own, I would surely fight the Quraysh; I would fight them as I fought alongside the Prophet in the Battle of Badr on the Day of Ghazwah.

There was an ugly dispute between ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ᶜAuf and Miqdād, which we have mentioned in a separate book, the *Akhbār al-Zamān*.[187] It is mostly about the council where Othmān was selected as caliph.

Through his chains from Omar Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Ibn Asākar related:

قَالَ مَرْوَانُ بْنُ الْحَكَمِ: مَا كَانَ فِي الْقَوْمِ أَحَدٌ أَدْفَعَ عَنْ صَاحِبِنَا مِنْ صَاحِبِكُمْ - يَعْنِي عَلِيًّا - عَنْ عُثْمَانَ. قَالَ: قُلْتُ لَهُ: فَمَا لَكُمْ تَسُبُّونَهُ عَلَى الْمَنَابِرِ؟ قَالَ: لَا يَسْتَقِيمُ الْأَمْرُ إِلَّا بِذَلِكَ.[188]

Marwān Ibn Ḥakam told Imam Sajjād Ali Ibn al-Husayn: "None of the companions of the Prophet supported our master more than your master did [that is, as Ali supported Othmān]." So Imam Sajjād said: "Then why do you curse him in your sermons in the mosques?" and Marwān said: "We do not support the caliphate without cursing Ali!"

And Ahmad Amīn Miṣrī has said:

وَقَدْ بَدَأَ التَّشَيُّعُ مِنْ فِرْقَةٍ مِنَ الصَّحَابَةِ كَانُوا مُخْلِصِينَ فِي حُبِّهِمْ لِعَلِيٍّ يَرَوْنَهُ أَحَقَّ بِالْخِلَافَةِ لِصِفَاتٍ رَأَوْهَا فِيهِ، مِنْ أَشْهَرِهِمْ سَلْمَانُ الْفَارِسِيُّ وَأَبُو ذَرٍّ الْغِفَارِيُّ وَالْمِقْدَادُ بْنُ الْأَسْوَدِ. وَتَكَاثَرَتْ شِيعَتُهُ لَمَّا نَقَمَ النَّاسُ عَلَى عُثْمَانَ فِي السَّنَوَاتِ الْأَخِيرَةِ مِنْ خِلَافَتِهِ ثُمَّ لَمَّا وَلِيَ الْخِلَافَةَ.[189]

At the beginning of Shi'ism, a group developed among the companions of the Prophet who were known as the sincere lovers of Ali. They became familiar with his virtues and thought it was right for him to be caliph. The most sincere among them were Salmān Fārsī, Abūdhar Ghifārī, and Miqdād Ibn Aswad. Since the early days, Othmān was hated for his hostile manner, and the people did not like him, and day by day Ali's followers increased. Later on, when Ali took his rightful place as caliph, the number of his followers grew even more.

Osāma Ibn Zayd objected to the caliphate of Othmān, and he wrote a letter telling him so.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:

When the Prophet was seriously ill, he called Osāma Ibn Zayd Ibn Ḥāritha to him and said: "Set out for the land where your father was killed, and attack them on horseback. I have chosen you as commander of this army. And if God wills that you are victorious over them, do not delay more; set up your spies everywhere and send news of the enemy to me as soon as possible, with the news-carrier marching in the front line of the army."

Omar and Abū Bakr Were under the Banner of Osāma, Who Was Their Emir

The Prophet did not overlook the Migrants and Supporters, and joined them in the army, including Abū Bakr and Omar.

Some of them objected to his choice of a young Migrant as commander of the army, and the Prophet became furious. He left his house for the mosque, and wrapping his head with a piece of cloth and wearing a robe, he climbed the pulpit and said:

فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَا مَقَالَةٌ بَلَغَتْنِي عَنْ بَعْضِكُمْ فِي تَأْمِيرِي أُسَامَةَ، لَئِنْ طَعَنْتُمْ فِي تَأْمِيرِي أُسَامَةَ فَقَدْ طَعَنْتُمْ فِي تَأْمِيرِي أَبَاهُ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ وَأَيْمُ اللهِ إِنْ كَانَ لَخَلِيقاً بِالْإِمَارَةِ، وَابْنُهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ لَخَلِيقٌ بِهَا، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَمِنْ أَحَبِّ النَّاسِ إِلَيَّ، فَاسْتَوْصُوا بِهِ خَيْراً فَإِنَّهُ مِنْ خِيَارِكُمْ.

> O people! What is this nonsense you say about my choice of Osāma as the emir of the army? By God, you mock me now for my choice of him as the emir as you mocked me for choosing his father as emir. By God, his father, Zayd Ibn Ḥāritha, was a capable statesman, and his son is equally so. These two are most beloved to me. So take my words of advice as a sign of kindness towards him, for Osāma is one of your close friends.

The Prophet then descended from the pulpit and went to his house. After that, the Muslims went to him one after another, and after bidding him farewell, joined Osāma's army.

The Prophet's illness got worse day by day as he tried to get prominent men of the Quraysh to join Osāma's army. He said to Osāma:

وَقَالَ: اغْدُ عَلَى بَرَكَةِ اللهِ، وَجَعَلَ يَقُولُ: انْفُذُوا بَعْثَ أُسَامَةَ، وَيُكَرِّرُ ذَلِكَ. فَوَدَّعَ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وَخَرَجَ وَمَعَهُ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ.[190]

"With God's help and blessing, get ready and prepare to set out tomorrow morning."

In the meantime, he encouraged people to join the army by insisting on it. Osāma bid farewell to the Prophet and moved on. Abū Bakr and Omar were also in the army and under his command.

Before moving the army out, Osāma said to the Prophet: "O Prophet, may my father and mother be your sacrifice! Would you please let me stay in Medina to witness your recovery? If I leave you like this, I will always feel a great pain within me." But the Prophet said: "O Osāma, move on to where I have commanded you, because it is not permissible to remain and delay the *jihād*."[191]

Here we clearly see that the Prophet has mentioned some of the most arrogant, such as Abū Bakr, Omar, Abū Obayda Jarrāḥ, Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah, Othmān Ibn Affān, Muʿādh Ibn Jabal, and other well-known figures from the Migrants and Supporters, in the army under Osāma's control. However, successive Shiʿa and Sunni hadiths say that Ali was not with Osāma's army at the time, since the Prophet had not commanded him to join.

Incidentally, Osāma was among those who objected to Abū Bakr's caliphate, saying: "The Prophet assigned me as your emir."

The great Shaykh ʿAbd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī says that Abū Bakr, at the beginning of his caliphate, wrote a letter to Osāma commencing: "From Abū Bakr, the caliph of the Messenger of God, to Osāma, the son of Zayd, whose father was freed by the Messenger of God." However, Osāma responded:

مِنَ الأَمِيرِ اسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَتِيقٍ إِلَى ابْنِ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِذَا أَتَاكَ كِتَابِي فَاحْبِسْ بِمَكَانِكَ، فَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم سَمَّانِي أَمِيراً وَسَمَّاكَ أَنْتَ وَصَاحِبَكَ فِي الْخَيْلِ، وَأَنَا أَمِيرُ عَلَيْكُمَا أَمَّرَنِي رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم.[192]

From the emir, Osāma Ibn Zayd Ibn ʿAtīq, to the son of Abū Quḥāfah. When my letter reaches you, sit where you are, because the Prophet has nominated me as you emir. Remember who directed you and your friend to march forward with the horsemen. Thus I am the emir of you both, and this leadership devolves upon me from the Messenger of God.

And it is related in Ṭabarī's *Iḥtijāj* that when Abū Bakr was chosen as caliph, his father, Abū Quḥāfah, was in Ṭāʾif. Abū Bakr wrote a letter to his father as follows:

مِنْ خَلِيفَةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ إِلَى أَبِي قُحَافَةَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ تَرَاضَوْا بِي، فَإِنِّي الْيَوْمَ خَلِيفَةُ اللهِ، فَلَوْ قَدِمْتَ عَلَيْنَا كَانَ أَقَرَّ لِعَيْنِك:

"From the caliph of the Messenger of God to Abū Quḥāfah. By now almost everyone is satisfied with my leadership. Therefore, from now on I am God's caliph. If you come to us, it would be delightful to see you, and our eyes would be illuminated by seeing you."

When Abū Quḥāfah read the letter, he asked the apostle why they had not made Ali caliph. The apostle said: "He was too young, and Abū Bakr is older than he."

Abū Quḥāfah said: "If the caliphate is a matter of age, then I am more deserving, for I am his father. They did injustice to Ali by usurping his right, but the Prophet commanded us to pay homage to Ali."

Then he wrote a letter under the title "From Abū Quḥāfah to his son":

> Be assured that I received your letter. I found it odd that one part contradicted the other. First you say "the caliph of the Prophet," then "the caliph of God," and finally "the people are satisfied with him."
>
> This is a matter you have elaborated on. Do not become involved in an affair with a difficult ending, and consequently reproach on the Day of Resurrection. There is a way in for every affair and a way out of it. Do you know who has the right to the caliphate? Then be aware of God as if you always see Him! And do not leave the rightful possessor of the caliphate on his own, and know that it is much better and easier for you to leave the caliphate today.[193]

We should mention another narrative concerning the caliphate of Ali. Ṭabarī has related a hadith where Ziyād Ibn Muṭraf says that he heard the Prophet say:

سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم يَقُولُ: مَنْ أَحَبَّ أَنْ يَحْيَى حَيَاتِي، وَيَمُوتَ مِيتَتِي، وَ يَدْخُلَ الْجَنَّةَ الَّتِي وَعَدَنِي رَبِّي قَضْباً مِنْ قُضْبَانِهَا غَرَسَهَا فِي جَنَّةِ الْخُلْدِ، فَلْيَتَوَلَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِيطَالِبٍ وَ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِي، فَإِنَّهُمْ لَنْ يُخْرِجُوهُمْ مِنْ بَابِ هُدًى، وَلَنْ يُدْخِلُوهُمْ فِي بَابِ ضَلَالَةٍ [194]

Whoever wishes to live as I do and die as I will die and enter the Paradise that my Creator has promised me should plant a tall tree with much foliage and huge boughs of hanging branches in Paradise, and must be under the guidance of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and his progeny, for they will never lead the people away from the path of guidance into perversion.

Ḥākim has paraphrased this in his *Mustadrak* as Muṭraf Ibn Zīyād quoting Zayd Ibn Arqam as saying that the Prophet stated:

قَالَ: رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم: مَنْ سَرَّهُ أَنْ يَحْيَى حَيَاتِي وَيَمُوتَ مَوْتِي، وَيَسْكُنَ جَنَّةَ الْخُلْدِ الَّتِي وَعَدَنِي رَبِّي، فَلْيَتَوَلَّ عَلِيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَإِنَّهُ لَنْ يُخْرِجَكُمْ مِنْ هُدًى، وَلَنْ يُدْخِلَكُمْ فِي ضَلَالَةٍ [195]

"Whoever wants to live a life like my life and die a death like mine and then abide in the eternal Paradise that my Creator has promised me must have and follow the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. For indeed he never removes you from the path of guidance, nor does he lead you into perversion.

Lessons One Hundred Eighteen to One Hundred Twenty

To Obtain the Greatest Wishes, All People Must Struggle for the Leadership of Imam Ali

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEEN TO ONE HUNDRED TWENTY

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may Allah's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

قُلْ هَلْ نُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِالْأَخْسَرِينَ أَعْمَالًا ۝ الَّذِينَ ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعًا ۝ أُولَٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِ رَبِّهِمْ وَلِقَائِهِ فَحَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ فَلَا نُقِيمُ لَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَزْنًا ۝ ذَٰلِكَ جَزَاؤُهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ بِمَا كَفَرُوا وَاتَّخَذُوا آيَاتِي وَرُسُلِي هُزُوًا.

Say: Shall We inform you of those who will be the greatest losers by their works? Those whose effort is lost in worldly life, and yet they reckon that they do good work. Those are they who deny the signs of their Lord and in the meeting with Him, so their works are vain, and on the Day of Resurrection We assign no weight to them. That is their reward: Hell, because they disbelieved, and made a jest of Our signs and Our messengers (18:103–6).

The Necessity of Leaving Matters to the Most Learned and the Clear-Sighted

A man must be careful and rely on God when the devil comes in disguise to his carnal soul to take control of him, so that he deviates from the straight path. He must guard against the constant whispering in his ear, and help people and the religion. His responsibility is towards society and instructing those who are capable, helping the weak, the needy, and the orphans. His great need is to enjoin good behavior on society and forbid what is wrong, and many more such things. He is drawn to leadership, but not that of the spiritual mind of the Divinity, but worldly leadership. People get used to ignorance and follow their passions and desires, whereas there are many better, wiser, more knowledgeable, and braver men to take care of the affairs of society. Finally, after much conflict, his natural attributes and God-given nature, his modesty and aversion to this world, lead to desire for the next world, gnosis, and the meeting with God, and this dissuades him

from involvement in the trifling matters of what seems to be no more than the carcass of the present world that allures and charms him.

In such a case, a man's prudent duty is not to accept a position of leadership; rather he must reject it and must be cautious lest desire and passion dominate his logic and intellect. In this state, he must go within to that qualified man who, due to the carelessness of the people, is secluded in his room pondering his errant life, when he truly has more knowledge and wisdom than those who are learned in the eyes of the public. And then he must try to bring him out of the corner of the room, and be master of him, with him directly under his command, and try to help him according to the divine law to pave his own path towards eternal happiness. In short, he must leave behind superficial leadership, and sacrifice his passions and desires for the satisfaction of wisdom, nature, and the religion, and be one of the people under the direction of the person who deserve to be a leader.

Great blessings successively pour down from the heavens when one rises and acts so that the people may enjoy abundant blessings. They become strong on their way to God, and cover a long distance in a very short time. However, the opposite happens if man takes his own affairs in hand while there are many wiser and more learned men around. He not only goes backwards and is always challenged by the devil and his own passions, but he creates trouble for society through his opaque ideas.

The harm caused by this kind of person is more than any other, as it is said:

ضَلَّ سَعْيُهُمْ فِي الْحَيٰوةِ الدُّنْيَا وَهُمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يُحْسِنُونَ صُنْعًا.

All their worldly struggle amounts to physical strength and devilish thoughts, but they think that they are doing their best and helping people. They believe that they contribute to welfare and charity by building schools and other similar things, and they think they are accepted by the Divine, but it is only in their imaginations.

The first chosen caliphs after the Prophet were like this. Each of the shaykhs did the same bad things in the name of religion and imagined they were upholding Islam. Disguised as holy ones and considering it right, they closed the door to God's guardian, the Master of the Faithful, broke it, and burnt it down; and they took away the public treasury in the name of protecting it, as well as the last of the property of the Prophet, including the Fadak. They would establish public prayers and the Friday prayer, and would climb the Prophet's pulpit and present sermons, saying that their only purpose was to guide the people, while in the meantime they equipped the people to send them on *jihād*. They were harsh to the people and condemned

the opponents of the government in the towns and villages, and those who refused to pay the welfare taxes only because the money did not go to the rightful caliph to spend on the right things. In the name of *jihād*, they fought with the backsliders, although they were Muslims, prayed, and were loyal to the ordinances of Islam. It was only because they did not recognize their caliphate, and that their obligations would not be fulfilled unless they paid the welfare taxes to the right person. But in the name of religion, they took the welfare taxes forcefully. They branded the actions of others as disbelief, and then fought them.

To attract people to them, especially the Arabs, they assumed a certain privilege for themselves, also giving the Arabs more privileges than others in the public treasury, marriage, the nomination of an imam for Friday prayers, and many other things. By coloring their activities as commands of the religion, they first of all established them as traditions and then gradually added them to the religion. Omar forbade temporary marriage during the enjoyment *ḥajj*, as well as the enjoyment of women between the greater *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*, and this went on until it became a part of the tradition. Omar ordered communal supererogatory prayers during Ramaḍān, whereas it is unlawful to do so. This also became a tradition, and they still pray one thousand supererogatory communal prayers at night during Ramaḍān.

However, if we were to mention all the changes the shaykhs made in the rules of the religion, especially the second shaykh, it would require a separate book. But Imam Ali has explained them in brief in the sermon of *"Fiṭan* and *Bidaʿ*."[196]

These were changes and innovations to the basic religion, and to object to them was to object to the demands of the religion, and Omar and Othmān would issue invented punishments for doing so. In one of his sermons, Omar said:

"وَإِنَّهُمَا كَانَتَا مُتْعَتَيْنِ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه و آله وسلم، وَأَنَا أَنْهَى عَنْهُمَا وَأُعَاقِبُ عَلَيْهِمَا إِحْدَيْهُمَا مُتْعَةُ النِّسَاءِ، وَلَا أُقْدِرُ عَلَى رَجُلٍ تَزَوَّجَ امْرَأَةً إِلَى أَجَلٍ إِلَّا غَيَّبْتُهُ بِالْحِجَارَةِ، وَالْأُخْرَى مُتْعَةُ الْحَجِّ."[197]

"There used to be two enjoyments concerning women at the time of the Prophet, but now I prohibit them, and I will severely punish whoever continues with them. One is the enjoyment of women, and I will not delay in stoning to death and burying a man who has a temporary marriage, and the other is to marry on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage."

This rule would be issued at his court to the Islamic nation under his control, which had to carry out his commands or bear the punishment. Gradually these innovations became fixed as the tradition of the shaykhs, but they veiled the Prophet Mohammad's commands, thereby flooding the pure religion with new commands. These customs became a major part of the religion and were also practiced after Omar during the time of Othmān.

With the Conditions That Omar Set Up, the Caliphate Would Never Devolve upon Imam Ali

In the council that Omar set up to choose a caliph, he used his power to ensure that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib would not be chosen. Omar had appointed three days as the duration of the council. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ᶜAuf, the son-in-law of Othmān, knew that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib would take no notice of the shaykhs' innovations, and after the council was over, in order to keep the caliphate from Ali, he proposed following the commands of the shaykhs, and said to Ali: "Do you promise to act upon the Book of God, the traditions of the Prophet, and the traditions of the shaykhs?" Ali responded: "I shall act upon the Book of God, the traditions of the Prophet, and whatever my interpretation of the divine rule on matters of theology and law commands me."

Abd al-Raḥmān, who knew Othmān well, turned to him and asked: "Do you promise to act upon the Book of God, the traditions of the Prophet, and the traditions of the shaykhs?" Othmān answered: "Yes, I do." Then ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān said: "Let me take your hand." In this way he swore allegiance to him. Ali remarked to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān:

> Did you freely fulfil this matter with him? This is not the first time that you, the tribe of the Quraysh, have helped each other against us.

فَصَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ عَلَىٰ مَا تَصِفُونَ[198]

...(for me) patience is most fitting. And God it is Whose help is to be sought against that which you assert (12:18).

> By God, you chose Othmān as caliph hoping that he would deliver the caliphate to you. Let it be known that God has a command for every single day:

وَاللَّهُ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ[199]

...Every day He brings about some matter (55:29).

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān said to Ali: "O Ali, swear allegiance, and leave not the gate of conflict open. I have thought about what I say and consulted with different people over it,[200] and in the end, I gathered that they knew of no one better than Othmān for the caliphate." Ali left the session and said:

حَتّٰى يبلغَ الْكِتاب أجله.[201]

("Whatever is to be, will be").

Miqdād said:

اى عبد الرحمن أما والله لقد تركته من الذين يقضون بالحق وبه يعدلون. ما رأيت مثل ما اوتى إلى أهل هذا البيت بعد نبيهم، إنى لأعجب من قريش إنهم تركوا رجلا ما أقول: إن أحدا أعلم ولا أقضى منه بالعدل. أما والله لو أجد عليه أعوانا. فقال عبد الرحمن: يا مقداد اتق الله فإنى خائف عليك الفتنة.[202]

O ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, by God, you abandoned the guardianship, leaving it in the hands of those who have a tendency to fight. I have never seen a disaster like this happen to the Household since the death of the Prophet, nor have I seen such a thing happen to the nation. I am very surprised with what the Quraysh did, for they ignored a man than whom there is none wiser among all the people, for he is prudent and stable in his judgment. I implore God that I may have some supporters to rise up and help him.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān replied: "O Miqdād, fear God, for I sense sedition would arise because of what you say."

Ali abstained from swearing allegiance to Othmān, so ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān said:

فلا تجعل يا علىُّ سبيلا إلى نفسك فإنه السيف لا غير.[203]

"O Ali! Do not rouse us to slay you, for if you do not pay homage, then you deserve the sword, no less." This he said because according to Othmān's testimony, whoever did not swear allegiance had to be killed. Ṭabarī says:

وتلكأ علىٌّ، فقال عبد الرحمن: فمن نكث فإنما ينكث على نفسه.[204]

"Ali refused to pay homage, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān said: *So he who breaks his oath, does so to the harm of his own soul* (48:10)."

No doubt Omar's purpose in setting up the council of six, consisting of Ali, Othmān, Saᶜd Waqqāṣ, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr, was to appoint Othmān as caliph. Ṭabarī has recorded that Omar wrote in his testimony:

If I die, hold a council for three days for discussion [about choosing the caliph], and during those three days, let Ṣuhayb lead the communal prayer; and before the fourth day approaches you should have chosen your leader. And invite ᶜAbdullāh, the son of Omar, to the council sessions to witness what takes place. However, he has no right in the decision. And Ṭalḥah is your partner in this affair, so invite him if he is back from his journey when the sessions are about to start. But if he does not come at the right time, carry on nevertheless.

He then asked: "Who is there among you who can bring Ṭalḥah here right now?"

Saᶜd Ibn Waqqāṣ said:

I will bring him to you, and I hope, God willing, he will not object. However, I believe one of these two men, Ali or Othmān, will get the caliphate. If Othmān does, he is a gentle-natured man, and if Ali does, he has wits. He deserves this for leading the people to the righteous path. If they choose Saᶜd, he would not be a bad governor, but if he is not chosen for the guardianship, he must have some benefit elsewhere, and you should seek his help in other ways. I have never dismissed him for sluggishness or deceit. And ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf is also a thoughtful person, brave and well organized, and God supports him, so listen to what he says.

Omar said to Abū Ṭalḥah Anṣārī: "O Abū Ṭalḥah, how long God has supported you and honored Islam because of you! Now you choose fifty men from the Tribe of Anṣār to save this council, and behead anyone who opposes the verdict. They must be chosen from among these people, so encourage them to select one from themselves."

And Omar said to Miqdād Ibn Aswad: "When you lay me in my grave, gather these people in a house to select one from among them."

Omar then said to Ṣuhayb:

You must be the imam for the communal prayer for three days, and let Ali, Othmān, Zubayr, Saᶜd, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf, and Ṭalḥah, if he returns from his journey, be present in the house, and invite ᶜAbdullāh, the son of Omar, as well, but know that he has no share in the guardianship. And take control of them. If five of them agree, choose one as the caliph, but if one objects, behead him at once. However, if four of the six agree, but two object, then behead those two. And if three of them agree, but three prefer another, then call ᶜAbdullāh, the son of Omar, as arbiter. Then the rest should follow whomever ᶜAbdullāh chooses between those two parties. However, if they are dissatisfied with ᶜAbdullāh's opinion,

then consider what ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf has to say on the matter. Then, without hesitation, kill all of them, even if all the people turn away.

Then all of them left Omar. Ali said to his companions in the Banī Hāshim: "If they had obeyed me, you would never be under their control."

Later, ᶜAbbās Ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib met Ali, and Ali told him: "They took the guardianship away from us," and ᶜAbbās asked: "How do you know?" Ali replied:

Omar told Othmān: "Stand with the majority; and above all, if two men vote for a certain man and two for another, then keep to the choice of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf." Saᶜd Waqqāṣ would not oppose his cousin, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, and in any case, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was Othmān's son-in-law, and they would not oppose each other. Nonetheless, either ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān would give the caliphate to Othmān, or Othmān would give it to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān. If Ṭalḥah and Zubayr were with me, it would not benefit me anything. Let me say that my final word is that I am certain the caliphate will go to one of these two men.[205]

With a little consideration of the meaning of what we have related from Ṭabarī, it becomes clear that Omar's intention of setting up the council was for him to gain power. Because of the influence of Othmān's personality among the sons of the Omayyads—and especially the fact that he was the Prophet's son-in-law on two occasions—he was known as Dhi al-Nūrayn.[206] Therefore, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf would not have been a strong political partner in this case, and we have a good reason for this claim.

First of all, during his ten-year rule, Omar was such a close friend of Othmān, affording him the highest respect and referring to him on all matters, that the people assumed he would be their third caliph. In other words, as the Persians say, they considered him to be the second after the first one.

Ṭabarī says in his *History*:

وَكَانَ عُثْمَانُ يُدْعَى فِي إِمَارَةِ عُمَرَ رَدِيفاً. قَالُوا: وَالرَّدِيفُ بِلِسَانِ الْعَرَبِ الَّذِي بَعْدَ الرَّجُلِ. وَالْعَرَبُ تَقُولُ ذَلِكَ لِلرَّجُلِ الَّذِي يَرْجُوَنَهُ بَعْدَ رَئِيسِهِمْ.

That is to say, during Omar's rule, Othmān also had rank and position. And in Arabic, it is said that the phrase "at the same position" refers to the one who has all the public affairs in hand. The Arabs would give this title to whomever they believed was going to be the next in authority.

Secondly, Othmān had dealt with matters of government ever since Abū Bakr was in authority, and right from the start he approved of Abū Bakr's caliphate and paid homage to him. During Abū Bakr's rule he was the closest to him, and once, when Abū Bakr asked him about Omar, he answered: "I know his heart better than his exterior. There is none amongst us like him." It was Othmān who even wrote the treaty concerning Abū Bakr's caliphate for Omar.

Ṭabarī and other historians have recorded that when Abū Bakr was on the point of death, he called Othmān to him and asked him to write the following:

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ. هٰذَا مَا عَهِدَ أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي قُحَافَةَ إِلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، قَالَ.. ثُمَّ أُغْمِيَ عَلَيْهِ فَذَهَبَ عَنْهُ فَكَتَبَ عُثْمَانُ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنِّي قَدِ اسْتَخْلَفْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ وَلَمْ آلُكُمْ خَيْرًا مِنْهُ ثُمَّ أَفَاقَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَقَالَ: اقْرَأْ عَلَيَّ، فَقَرَأَ عَلَيْهِ فَكَبَّرَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ وَقَالَ: أَرَاكَ خِفْتَ أَنْ يَخْتَلِفَ النَّاسُ إِنِ اخْتَلَسَتْ نَفْسِي فِي غَشْيَتِي؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ: جَزَاكَ اللهُ خَيْرًا عَنِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَأَهْلِهِ. وَأَقَرَّهَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ عَلَى هٰذَا الْمَوْضِعِ.[207]

"In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. This is the testament of Abū Bakr, the son of Quḥāfah, that he leaves for the Muslims."

But just then he became unconscious, and so Othmān himself wrote: "And now I, Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, have assigned a caliph for you, and I have not neglected to choose the best for you."

Abū Bakr then regained consciousness and asked Othmān to read it to him, and Othmān read what he had written. Abū Bakr praised him and cried: "God is Most Great." He then said: "I gather that you were afraid that if I had died while unconscious, the people would have objected regarding this matter of the caliphate," and Othmān replied: "Yes, that is right." Abū Bakr then said: "May God bestow the goodness of Islam upon you, and reward you with the best reward." Abū Bakr thus accepted whatever Othmān had written and left it at that.

Omar was therefore indebted to Othmān, and subsequently supported his caliphate. Omar also, for Abū Bakr's good service and his own desire, assigned him as caliph and imposed the Banī Omayyad—who were the greatest hurdle for the Banī Hāshim—upon the Muslims for more than a century.

Abū al-Abbās Ahmad,[208] known as Mūḥibb Ṭabarī, has related that ᶜAbdullāh, the son of Omar, said:

لَمَّا طُعِنَ عُمَرُ قُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَوِ اجْتَهَدْتَ بِنَفْسِكَ وَأَمَّرْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ رَجُلًا؟! قَالَ: أَقْعِدُونِي. قَالَ عَبْدُ اللهِ: فَتَمَنَّيْتُ لَوْ أَنَّ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ عَرْضَ الْمَدِينَةِ فَرَقًا مِنْهُ حِينَ قَالَ: أَقْعِدُونِي. ثُمَّ قَالَ: وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَأَرُدَّنَّهَا إِلَى الَّذِي دَفَعَهَا إِلَيَّ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ. خَرَّجَهُ أَبُو زُرْعَةَ فِي كِتَابِ الْعِلَلِ.[209]

When Omar was stabbed with a dagger, I told him: "O Commander of the Faithful, I wish that you, with your great thoughtfulness, would choose an emir for the nation after your death." Omar asked me to help him sit, and when he was seated he said: "I swear by Him at Whose disposal is my soul, I will return the caliphate to the one who prepared it for me in the first place."

Therefore, by means of this hadith, we ascertain that Abū Bakr was the cause of transferring the caliphate.

Similarly, according to Khaythamah Ibn Sulaymān's explanation of the hadith in Ḥudhayfah's *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī narrated that:

قِيلَ لِعُمَرَ وَهُوَ بِالرُّقَيْطِ: مَنِ الْخَلِيفَةُ بَعْدَكَ؟ قَالَ: عُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ.[210]

"When Omar was at Arafat, he was asked: 'Who is to be caliph after you?' and he answered: 'It is Othmān Ibn Affān.'"

Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī has also quoted Ḥārithah Ibn Maḍrab as saying:

حَجَجْتُ مَعَ عُمَرَ فَكَانَ الْحَادِي يَحْدُو: إِنَّ الْأَمِيرَ بَعْدَهُ عُثْمَانُ.[211]

"I was on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage with Omar, and the herald announced with a pleasant voice that the emir after him was to be Othmān."

And in the *Kanz al-ᶜUmmāl*, Mullā Taqī says: "When in Medina, they asked Abā Ḥafaṣ Omar who was to be caliph after him, and he said it would be Othmān."[212]

Thirdly, Omar vehemently disliked the caliphate of the Banī Hāshim. His hatred can be clearly discerned through the topics covered in this book. It is quite clear from the discussions he had with Ibn ᶜAbbās, and other statements, such as how the Quraysh did not care what the Banī Hāshim said. However, he always expressed his wishes through other parties by laying the blame on the Quraysh, as on the Day of Saqīfa when he said to the Supporters:

وَاللهِ لَا تَرْضَى الْعَرَبُ أَنْ يُؤَمِّرُوكُمْ وَنَبِيُّهَا مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ.[213]

"By God, the Arabs are not pleased about choosing you as the emir and having a prophet from [a tribe] other than yours."

His intention in saying "Arab" was to indicate himself, because if the Quraysh had the cooperation of the Supporters, there would be

no blame on the Arabs. Omar was well aware that there was no one like him with a policy to stand against them, and that was why he supported a tribe that was notoriously opposed to the Banī Hāshim, that is, Muʿāwiyah's, and whose dignity and leadership had been damaged by the advent of Islam. They strongly disliked Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and his Household, so Muʿāwiyah was most desirous of the role. He waited until the Banī Hāshim wanted their privilege returned, when their only hurdle would be Omar's stubborn ally Muʿāwiyah.

Omar appointed his brother, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, as governor of Shām after Yazīd Ibn Abī Sufyān,[214] and to gather support for him, Omar went to Shām and encouraged the people to obey Muʿāwiyah and be prepared for a day of sedition—the very sedition that Omar expected would happen because of Muʿāwiyah—when Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, his Household, and his companions would demand their rights, which he had to stop.

While enumerating Muʿāwiyah's virtues, Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī says:

وَمِنْهَا أَنَّ عُمَرَ خَصَّ النَّاسَ عَلَى اتِّبَاعِ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَالْهِجْرَةِ إِلَيْهِ إِلَى الشَّامِ إِذَا وَقَعَتْ فُرْقَةٌ أَخْرَجَ ابْنُ أَبِي الدُّنْيَا بِسَنَدٍ: أَنَّ عُمَرَ قَالَ: إِيَّاكُمْ وَالْفُرْقَةَ بَعْدِي فَإِنْ فَعَلْتُمْ فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ مُعَاوِيَةَ بِالشَّامِ فَإِذَا وَكَلْتُمْ إِلَى رَأْيِكُمْ كَيْفَ يَسْتَبِرُّهَا مِنْكُمْ[215]

Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb encouraged the people to follow Muʿāwiyah and migrate to Shām to stay with him, and then, if any dispute erupted among the people, to refer to him and follow his decisions. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā mentions in his chains that Omar said:

> Let there be no differences, disputes, or separation among you, but if there are, then know that Muʿāwiyah is there with you in Shām. You must follow his advice and obey his commands, because otherwise, if you try to keep your problems to yourselves, then how can he resolve your difficulties? Yet this thought alone has caused separation among the people.

Muʿāwiyah Strikes Fear into the Immigrants in Order to Strengthen Othmān

We see that this support for Muʿāwiyah on the part of the Migrants and the early Muslims came right at a time when people were finding fault with Othmān and noticing his shortcomings. They clearly witnessed a change in his words and mentioned this to him, and that he

was sharing the public treasury among his close friends and family. Muʿāwiyah came from Shām to Medina and reinterpreted these deviations as good points, and in the meantime condemned the Migrants instead.

Ibn Qutayba Dīnavarī says that Othmān would climb the pulpit in the mosque and say:

أما والله يا معشر المهاجرين والأنصار لقد عبتم عليّ أشياء، ونقمتم أمورا قد أقرّكم لابن الخطاب مثلها ولكنه وقمكم وقمعكم، ولم يجترئ منكم أحد يملأ بصره منه ولا يشنئ بطرفه إليه، أما والله لأنا أكثر من ابن الخطاب عددا، وأقرب ناصرا وأجدر إلى أن قال لهم أتنقمون من حقوقكم شيئا؟ فمالي لا أفعل في الفضل ما أريد؟ فلم كنت إماما إذا؟ أما والله ما غاب عليّ من غاب منكم أمرا أجهله، ولا الذي أتيت إلا وأنا أعرفه [216]

Be aware, O Migrants and Supporters, that you have found fault with me and consider much that I do, such as you do with Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb. However, he has subdued you and ignores your needs in the most severe way possible. He has cruelly humiliated you concerning your demands. His unfriendly dealings with you have brought you privation, and none of you dare to stare at him or make allusions to him.

Be aware that, by God, my army is greater than the army of Omar Khaṭṭāb, and my companions are closer to me, and I am the one who should deal harshly with you.

He went on, and then said:

Have you not received your wages or the pensions that you are due? So why should I not do what I wish with my excess income? If this were so, why on earth should I be an imam?

Be aware that nothing of what you say, or whatever faults you find with me, are hidden from me! I have done my best for you within my power, and I have obtained things through my knowledge.

Ibn Qutayba says that after this, Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān returned from Shām, and in a short while took part in a session where Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ṭalḥah Ibn Obaydullāh, Zubayr Ibn ʿAwām, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAuf, and Ammār Yāsir were present. He told them:

يَا مَعْشَرَ الصَّحَابَةِ أُوصِيكُمْ بِشَيْخِي هَذَا خَيْراً فَوَاللهِ لَئِنْ قُتِلَ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِكُمْ لَأَمْلَأَنَّهَا عَلَيْكُمْ خَيْلاً وَ رِجَالاً. ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى عَمَّارِ بْنِ يَاسِرٍ فَقَالَ: يَا عَمَّارُ، إِنَّ بِالشَّامِ مِائَةَ أَلْفِ فَارِسٍ كُلُّ يَأْخُذُ الْعَطَاءَ مَعَ مِثْلِهِمْ مِنْ أَبْنَائِهِمْ وَعُبْدَانِهِمْ. لَا يَعْرِفُونَ عَلِيّاً وَلَا قَرَابَتَهُ، وَلَا عَمَّاراً وَلَا سَابِقَتَهُ، وَلَا الزُّبَيْرَ وَلَا صَحَابَتَهُ، وَلَا طَلْحَةَ وَلَا هِجْرَتَهُ، وَلَا يَهَابُونَ ابْنَ عَوْفٍ وَلَا مَالَهُ، وَلَا يَتَّقُونَ سَعْداً وَلَا دَعْوَتَهُ [217]

"O company of the Prophet's companions! I enjoin you to look after our great shaykh, Othmān, and treat him in the best way. By God, if he is killed among you, I will fill the town of Medina with cavalry and foot-soldiers."

Then he turned to Ammār Yāsir and said:

> O Ammār! We have a thousand cavalrymen in Shām, and all of them receive good wages, as do their children and servants, who also get their own wages. They know neither Ali nor of his closeness [to the Prophet]; they do not know Ammār and his background, nor do they know Zubayr and his companionship with the Prophet.
>
> They know not Ṭalḥah, nor of his migration; they do not know Ibn ʿAuf, nor do they fear him or his influence; and they are not afraid of Saʿd or of his invitation.[218]

Here we see how Omar's plan was carried out, and also how the Migrants and the followers of the right path and their leader Ali were cast aside.

Muʿāwiyah, along with a hundred thousand fighters, violated the rule and mocked the sanctity of Islam by discounting the Migrants, those close to the Prophet, and so on. He then says:

> Because of the opposition to Othmān, no matter how much change he has made to different things, he is supported by Omar's instructions regarding the government of the Banī Omayyad in Shām, and is ready to confront anyone.
>
> Yes, Omar was not concerned about Islam and the Migrants, but only the Arabs. He respected the Arabs and wanted to make leaders out of them, so his love of Islam was only a tool to achieve his aim, and it was Islam that would bring dignity to the Arabs.[219]

Omar knew that it was only Muʿāwiyah who could strengthen the government of the Arabs. He was aware of Muʿāwiyah's perseverance in setting up an Arab imperialist government.

Ibn Ḥajar Asqalānī has quoted his uncle, Baghawī, relating that Zubayr said:

حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ قَالَ: كَانَ عُمَرُ إِذَا نَظَرَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ قَالَ: هَذَا كِسْرَى الْعَرَبِ.[220]

"Muhammad Ibn Ali told me that Omar's general mood was that whenever he saw Muʿāwiyah, he would say: 'This man is the Arabian version of King Kasrā for the Arabs.'"[221]

And Ibn Saʿd mentions Madāʾinī's saying:

قَالَ: نَظَرَ أَبُو سُفْيَانَ إِلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ وَهُوَ غُلَامٌ فَقَالَ: إِنَّ ابْنِي هَذَا لَعَظِيمُ الرَّأْسِ، وَإِنَّهُ لَخَلِيقٌ أَنْ يَسُودَ قَوْمَهُ فَقَالَتْ هِنْد: قَوْمَهُ فَقَطْ؟ ثَكِلْتُهُ إِنْ لَمْ يَسُدِ الْعَرَبَ قَاطِبَةً[222]

"Once, when Muʿāwiyah was still a young boy, Abū Sufyān looked at him and said: 'This son of mine has a big head; it means he is competent to act as a chief among his tribe.' And Hind said: 'What? Only his tribe? I will mourn if he cannot rule all the Arabs.'"

Islam, which is a religion of kindness, affection, humility, generosity, brotherhood, and cooperation with all other religions and creeds, the rich and the poor, and weak or strong nations, is one thing, but an imperial government disguised in Islamic clothing is another; and the moral attitude and virtues of Muhammad are one thing, and the hatred of Omar and Muʿāwiyah is another. Therefore, it could be said that whenever Islam has governed in the world, whether at the time of Omar, Othmān, the Banī Omayyad, or the Banī ʿAbbās, Omar's government can be considered full of hatred and enmity, and that when the world has been governed in the right way, such a government was that of the Prophet and Ali. Even now, the world is expecting to witness the advent of the Existent One of the Household of Muhammad, Ḥujjat Ibn al-Hasan al-Askarī, may our souls be sacrificed to him. This would bring kindness, brotherhood, and morality, and cause the disappearance of oppression and injustice to the weak and deprived.

Omar's policy was completely opposite to that of the descendants of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, so we can see why Omar could not tolerate seeing Ali's having authority and being the caliph.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabba quotes through his chains Hishām Ibn ʿOrwa as saying that his father, ʿOrwa, said: "When Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb was stabbed, they said to him: 'We wish you had already chosen a deputy caliph to come after you.'" He relates some other hadiths from Omar up to where they once again said to him:

يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَوْ عَهِدْتَ؟ فَقَالَ: لَقَدْ كُنْتُ أَجْمَعْتُ بَعْدَ مَقَالَتِي لَكُمْ أَنْ أُوَلِّيَ رَجُلًا أَمْرَكُمْ أَرْجُو أَنْ يَحْمِلَكُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ. وَأَشَارَ إِلَى عَلِيٍّ. ثُمَّ رَأَيْتُ أَنْ لَا أَتَحَمَّلَهَا حَيًّا وَمَيِّتًا.[223]

"We wish you had chosen someone to be caliph after you," and Omar said:

> After revealing to you those statements, I had in mind to choose someone for you to be most competent in government, and hoped to choose someone to lead you on the straight path. This was none other than Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. So it is Ali to whom I wanted to assign these affairs. However, I thought I could not tolerate seeing Ali as the caliph in my lifetime, or even when I am dead and gone.

Balādhurī has narrated that ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn said:

> I witnessed the scene on the day Omar was stabbed. Omar sent for Ali, Othmān, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAuf, and Saʿd Waqqāṣ, and they came to him. Then, after a small exchange of words, he asked them to call Ṣuhayb as well. Then he said to Ṣuhayb: "Lead the people in the communal prayers for three days, and gather those present here in a quiet place until they agree on one person from among them. Then, if any of them disagrees, do not hesitate to behead him."

When those with Omar left the house, Omar said:

قَالَ: إِنْ وَلَّوْهَا الْأَجْلَحَ سَلَكَ بِهِمُ الطَّرِيقَ. قَالَ ابْنُ عُمَرَ: فَمَا يَمْنَعُكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؟ قَالَ: لَا أَتَحَمَّلُهَا حَيًّا وَمَيِّتًا.[224]

"If they entrust the leadership and the caliphate to Ali, the one whose hair falls on his shoulders on either side, he can lead the Islamic nation on the straight path."

Omar's son asked: "O Commander of the Faithful, then why do you not entrust the state to him?" and Omar answered: "I could not bear to see him as caliph during my lifetime, or even after I am dead and gone."

ʿAbd al-Birr has also narrated the same hadith about Omar.[225]

After ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn's quotation of what Omar said about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Mūḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī mentions that Nisāʾī has the following narrative, adding that Omar also said:

لِلّٰهِ دَرُّهُمْ إِنْ وَلَّوْهَا الْأَصْيَلَعَ كَيْفَ يَحْمِلُهُمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَإِنْ كَانَ السَّيْفُ عَلَى عُنُقِهِ! قَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ كَعْبٍ: قُلْتُ: أَتَعْلَمُ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ وَلَا تُوَلِّيهِ؟! فَقَالَ: إِنْ تَرَكْتُهُمْ فَقَدْ تَرَكَهُمْ مَنْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنِّي.[226]

"May God bestow His blessings upon them, for if they entrust the caliphate and leadership to Ali, who has thin hair on his face, they will see how he leads them to the righteous way, even if swords rain down on him."

Muhammad Ibn Kaʿb then said: "What? If you know this about Ali, then why do you not choose him?" Omar said: "If I leave the people without assigning someone for them, the one before me who was better than me would leave without assigning anyone."

It becomes quite clear through the foregoing discussions that Omar never wanted to see Ali's leadership, and he had in mind to choose Othmān as the caliph. We should now examine why he did not assign him during his lifetime, but left it to the council to choose him. There are certain reasons for this.

Firstly, the council was set up to choose others who might be equal to Ali or even give them priority. This not only deprived Ali of his rights, but it made Othmān and Ṭalḥah consider what was to become of the caliphate after Othmān's death, and encouraged them to stand against Ali and violate his newly-established government by instigating the Battle of Jamāl.

After that, the Battle of Ṣiffīn erupted, and that led to the Battle of Nahrawān. The chaos caused brought terrorists to Ali, and they killed him at the altar of prayer.

Secondly, Omar had already foreseen that Ali and Zubayr would object to swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr and the consequences thereof, and he remembered well that Ṭalḥah mocked Abū Bakr when he was assigning Omar as caliph.[227] Therefore, he gathered all the opponents in a council, and had fifty fighters there with swords in their hands to stop any objections and force them to pay allegiance, thus clearing away any obstruction on Othmān's path to the caliphate.

Thirdly, Omar knew Othmān very well, and he saw how he behaved with the Muslims, and so he always feared that this relative of his and the family of Muʿīṭ would overpower the nation. This was why he did not assign him directly, but to save respect for himself, he left everything with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān so that the people's curse would go to him.

Fourthly, he apparently reminded the learned among the Migrants of the favor he did by inviting them to take part in the council, thereby preventing them from complaining later on.

The fifth point is that he wanted to give the impression that the council assigned the caliph rather than its being his personal choice, although he had decided already. Omar relied on the matter of the guardianship's being solved by the council to avoid having the people swear allegiance to Ali after his death.

In the *Ṣirāt Ibn Hishām* there is a quotation in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAuf reports that when Omar was at Minā, a man asked him:

يا أمير المؤمنين، هَلْ لَكَ فِي فُلانٍ يَقُولُ: وَاللهِ لَوْ قَدْ مَاتَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ لَقَدْ بَايَعْتُ فُلاناً. وَاللهِ مَا كَانَتْ بَيْعَةُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ إِلَّا فَلْتَةً فَتَمَّتْ؟

"O Commander of the Faithful, have you heard that a certain man has said: 'By God, if Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb dies, I will pay homage to So-and-So, so was swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr the right thing to do?'"

On hearing this, Omar became angry and said: "God willing, at the time of prayer this evening, I will speak to the people and dissuade them from following those who want to usurp the command and morality."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then told him:

> O Commander of the Faithful, do not do so here, because this place is where the mean people have gathered. Wait for a while until we return to Medina, for Medina is the house of tradition, and there one encounters the wise, the noble, and the law-givers. Then you may say what you want to say with peace of mind. The people of knowledge will listen to you well and absorb what you say, and then put it into action.

Omar said: "By God, if He wills, during the very first meeting in Medina I will stand to give a sermon to the people."

Then Ibn Hishām relates some matters from Ibn ʿAbbās, where he says that he was told that someone had said:

إِنَّهُ قَدْ بَلَغَنِي أَنَّ فُلاناً قَالَ: وَاللهِ لَوْ مَاتَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ لَقَدْ بَايَعْتُ فُلاناً. فَلَا يَغُرَّنَّ امْرَءٌ أَنْ يَقُولَ: إِنَّ بَيْعَةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ كَانَتْ فَلْتَةً فَتَمَّتْ. وَإِنَّهَا قَدْ كَانَتْ كَذَلِكَ إِلَّا أَنَّ اللهَ قَدْ وَقَى شَرَّهَا. وَلَيْسَ فِيكُمْ مَنْ تَقْطَعُ الْأَعْنَاقُ إِلَيْهِ مِثْلَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ. فَمَنْ بَايَعَ رَجُلاً مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِغَيْرِ مَشْوَرَةٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَإِنَّهُ لَا بَيْعَةَ لَهُ هُوَ وَلَا الَّذِي بَايَعَهُ تِغِرَّةً أَنْ يُقْتَلَا.[228]

> By God, when Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb passes away, I will pay homage to So-and-So. Let not Abū Bakr's thoughtless utterance make anyone proud, although paying homage to him amounts to the same thing, unless God saves the people from the consequences. And there is no one among you who can attract the people with his words and make them his willing companions like Abū Bakr. So any Muslim who pays homage to a man without consultation, his homage is not accepted, nor is the one to whom homage is made—both of them must be killed.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has quoted Jāḥiz as saying:

إِنَّهُ قَالَ: إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ الَّذِي قَالَ: لَوْ قَدْ مَاتَ عُمَرُ لَبَايَعْتُ فُلَاناً، عمار بن ياسر: لَوْ قَدْ مَاتَ عُمَرُ لَبَايَعْتُ عَلِياً فَهَذَا الْقَوْلُ هُوَ الَّذِي هَاجَ عُمَرَ أَنْ خَطَبَ مَا خَطَبَ بِهِ.[229]

"The one who has said 'If Omar dies, I will pay homage to such-and-such a man' is Ammār Yāsir. These are the very words that made Omar angry, so he said whatever he could in his sermon."

However, the plan to set up the council and to put Ali aside had already been sketched out. We see that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf arranged it so that Omar would give his sermon in Medina instead of Minā, and that his decision regarding the council was that six men would have control and could veto the outcome whenever they wanted. All these matters were in the hands of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, the son-in-law of Omar, and had been planned beforehand. There remains no doubt that they had already blocked the way for Ammār Yāsir and Zubayr to pay homage to Ali.

Balādhurī has quoted Wāqidī from his father, and he from his father, that Omar had said:

إِنَّ رِجَالًا يَقُولُونَ: إِنَّ بَيْعَةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ كَانَتْ فَلْتَةً وَتَمَّتْ أَلَا، وَإِنَّ بَيْعَةَ عُمَرَ كَانَتْ مِنْ غَيْرِ مَشْوَرَةٍ وَالْأَمْرُ بَعْدِي شُورَى، فَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ رَأْيُ أَرْبَعَةٍ فَلْيُتَّبَعِ الثَّلَاثَةُ الْأَرْبَعَةَ وَإِذَا اجْتَمَعَ رَأْيُ ثَلَاثَةٍ وَثَلَاثَةٍ فَاتَّبِعُوا رَأْيَ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ، فَاسْمَعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا، وَإِنْ صَفَّقَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بِإِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَاتَّبِعُوهُ.[230]

> Some people say that swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr is baseless, and was set up without a second thought. However, may God save the people from the consequences. And such was the case with paying homage to Omar. After me, the question of the caliphate must be put to the council. Then, in this council of six, if four of them decide on a certain person, the other two are to follow them. But if three of them choose one and the other three choose another, then you are to take the advice of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf and follow what he says. Listen to his verdict and obey him. And if, at the time of paying homage, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf places his hand on the next hand to pay homage, then follow him and pay homage.

And similarly, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, Balādhurī writes about the council and Omar's plan, and how Omar finally said:

وَإِنْ كَانُوا ثَلَاثَةً (وَثَلَاثَةً) كَانُوا مَعَ الثَّلَاثَةِ الَّذِينَ فِيهِمُ ابْنُ عَوْفٍ إِذْ كَانَ الثِّقَةَ فِي دِينِهِ وَرَأْيِهِ الْمَأْمُونَ لِلِاخْتِيَارِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ.[231]

"And if members of the council are three against three, let the people be on the side of the one that the son of ᶜAuf is with, because he is reliable in his religion as well as his promise, and he is trustworthy for the Muslims."

Balādhurī has also related from Hishām Ibn Saᶜd through Zayd Ibn Aslam, quoting his father, saying that Omar had said:

إِنِ اجْتَمَعَ رَأْيُ ثَلَاثَةٍ وَثَلَاثَةٍ فَاتَّبِعُوا صِنْفَ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ وَاسْمَعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا.[232]

"If the opinions of three are for one person and the opinions of the other three for someone else, you are to take the side of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf, and listen to him and obey him."

And Mullā Ali Muttaqī has related his father's saying:

إِنَّ عُمَرَ قَالَ: «إِنْ ضَرَبَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ إِحْدَى يَدَيْهِ عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَبَايِعُوهُ». وَعَنْ أَسْلَمَ أَنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ قَالَ: «بَايِعُوا لِمَنْ بَايَعَ لَهُ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ عَوْفٍ، فَمَنْ أَبَى فَاضْرِبُوا عُنُقَهُ».[233]

"Omar said: 'If ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān slaps his hand, then pay homage to him.'"

He has also quoted Aslam as saying that Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb said: "Pay homage to the one ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf pays homage to, and then behead whoever rejects him."

Here we should ask, So was Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf reliable and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib not? Why was his right not given to him? Or had Omar invented his reliability and honesty, against the opinion of the people? This would mean that the opinion and the religion of the son of ᶜAuf were under his direct control.

Secondly, why did Omar not invite noteworthy Migrants and close companions of the Prophet to the council—such men as Ammār Yāsir, Salmān Fārsī, Miqdād Ibn Aswad, Kindī, Ḥudhayfah Dhi Shahādatayn, Ibn Haytham Tayyhān, and others like them, who were sincere supporters of Ali and whose wisdom, intellect, and honesty are recorded in the history books?

And thirdly, why did Omar set up this council? He was like any other Muslim, and the setting up of such a council must be under the direct supervision of all Muslims, not just a single person. Has this kind of council any use or effect on the leadership? Would it have differed from assigning Othmān right from the beginning? Apart from that, even if Othmān had not been chosen as caliph, but Ali had been nominated, it would not have been a free election, for the choice would have been limited and the council would have been just a person's opinion. What was the difference between that election and the

Shah's election in the Sana Parliament, an election in which at least half of the deputies were already chosen by the Shah himself?

A fourth point is the question of where he got the notion of a council from. He believed that the Prophet did not assign anyone as leader and left the affairs of the nation with the people to choose their own guardian. Why did he not act in accordance with his own belief and allow the people to be free to choose the third caliph after his death?

So it is obvious that inviting Ali to take part in the council was not done so that he might be chosen, but to force him to agree on the future caliph. The command to kill anyone who objected to the verdict of the council was only for Ali, because Omar had planned not to invite any opponents to the council and then kill them. By doing this he gave Ali two choices, but no more: One was to obey the command of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf or be killed. His death would leave them to do what they wanted, so this strange plan was the council's agenda.

Muᶜāwiyah's Discussion with Ziyād Ibn Ḥaṣīn on Different Kinds of Muslims

Nonetheless, all kinds of sedition and differences resulted from this council, and caused many disasters for the Muslims. Here we should mention a little-known story that Ibn ᶜAbd-Rabba Andulusī has related in the *ᶜIqd al-Farīd*. He writes that it is said that Ziyād sent Ḥaṣīn's son to Muᶜāwiyah, and he stayed with him for a long time. On one occasion Muᶜāwiyah called him and they sat in private for a while, and then Muᶜāwiyah said: "O son of Ḥaṣīn, I have gathered that you are very intelligent and have unwavering wisdom. Now, I would like to ask you something, so please answer me." Ḥaṣīn's son replied: "Ask whatever you like." Muᶜāwiyah said: "For what reason did the Muslims become discouraged and separated, and what caused the differences among them?" Ibn Ḥaṣīn said: "It was the killing of Othmān." Muᶜāwiyah said: "You gave no good reason." Ibn Ḥaṣīn said: "It was the movement of Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ᶜĀyisha, and Ali's fighting with them." Muᶜāwiyah said: "Again you gave no good reason." Ibn Ḥaṣīn said: "I have nothing more than that to say."

So we can see that nothing other than the council of six set up by Omar was the cause of separation among the Muslims, and this is because God sent Muhammad with His guidance and the right religion to influence all other creeds and religions. Although the disbelievers disapproved, Muhammad carried out whatever God had commanded, and then God took him to Himself. He had considered Abū

Bakr for leading the prayer, and the Muslims approved of him because Muhammad had done so.

Abū Bakr followed the tradition of the Prophet until he passed away. Abū Bakr chose Omar as caliph, and Omar, too, followed Abū Bakr in the same way. Then he put the question of the caliphate before the council of six, but each one of them wanted it for his own benefit, and in the meantime, each of their relatives was anxious and hopeful that his family member would be the caliph. They were all expecting to receive the position of caliph. It is quite clear that if Omar had openly chosen a caliph, as Abū Bakr did, there would have been no differences among them or throughout the nation.[234]

Out of what has been said so far, we see Omar's changes to the religion; and this was not temporary, but a basic alteration that continued among his followers, which, as time passed, remained hidden to the world.

His followers considered the changes to be religious changes, and they considered Omar to be a saint and his traditions to be the traditions of the Prophet. However, the intellect and conscience are the proper judges of what is divine inspiration, and it is necessary to follow the Prophet because he was connected to the Unseen, whereas to blindly follow something is condemned. Omar intruded upon the policy of the Prophet; he invented many different things that became considered his own traditions, and then, combining them with the traditions of the previous caliph, they became known as "the traditions of the shaykhs."

Here it becomes quite clear that the damage done to true Islam and the traditions of Muhammad is greater than that of Abū Sufyān, Abū Lahab, Abū Jahl, and certain others. The sabotage, fighting, and disasters created for the Muslims and, above all, for the Prophet prevented the progress of the Prophet and the Islamic nation. They wanted to be chiefs and lead the people, but not like the Prophet. Omar obstructed the spirituality, the guardianship, and the nature of Islam. He mixed up the religion with his own traditions, and then presented it all to the Muslims. He interfered in the spirituality of Islam through the influence of his way of thinking clothed in Islam. Hence, we see how Abū Sufyān's policy disappeared, and no one follows it, but Omar's is there in its original form. And it is impossible to make a Sunni understand that his religion is baseless—that there is only the Book of God, the traditions of the Prophet, and nothing more.

The reason why Omar has been compared in Shi'a books to the Samaritan in the story of Moses is that the Samaritan interfered in the religion of Moses by inviting his people to worship the calf. Omar was

not just a ruler with an apparent government. The love of governing the people, especially spiritual leadership, is a great sin, and without doubt invites destruction to whoever desires it, and brings him to dust.

What Ghazzālī Had to Say about Ghadīr and the Deviation of the Chosen Caliphs

Muhammad Ghazzālī discusses whether the caliphate comes through a written decree or inheritance in the fourth chapter of his book *Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn*, which leads us to the following statement:

لَكِنْ أَسْفَرَتِ الْحُجَّةُ وَجْهَهَا وَأَجْمَعَ الْجَمَاهِيرُ عَلَى مَتْنِ الْحَدِيثِ فِي يَوْمِ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ بِاتِّفَاقِ الْجَمِيعِ، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ» فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: بَخٍ بَخٍ لَكَ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ لَقَدْ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ.

فَهَذَا تَسْلِيمٌ وَرِضًى وَتَحْكِيمٌ. ثُمَّ بَعْدَ هَذَا غَلَبَ الْهَوَى يُحِبُّ الرِّئَاسَةَ، وَحَمْلِ عَمُودِ الْخِلَافَةِ، وَعُقُودِ الْبُنُودِ، وَخَفَقَانِ الْهَوَى فِي قَعْقَعَةِ الرَّايَاتِ، وَنَشِيجِ ازْدِحَامِ الْخُيُولِ، وَفَتْحِ الْأَمْصَارِ سَقَاهُمْ كَأْسَ الْهَوَى، فَعَادُوا إِلَى الْخِلَافِ الْأَوَّلِ، فَنَبَذُوهُ وَرَاءَ ظُهُورِهِمْ وَاشْتَرَوْا بِهِ ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا فَبِئْسَ مَا يَشْتَرُونَ.

وَلَمَّا مَاتَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ قَبْلَ وَفَاتِهِ: ائْتُونِي بِدَوَاةٍ وَبَيَاضٍ لَا يَزِلَّ عَنْكُمْ إِشْكَالُ الْأَمْرِ، وَأَذْكُرَ لَكُمْ مِنَ الْمُسْتَحَقِّ لَهَا بَعْدِي.

قَالَ عُمَرُ: دَعُوا الرَّجُلَ فَإِنَّهُ لَيَهْجُرُ. وَقِيلَ: يَهْذِي.[235]

However, argument and reasoning were unveiled, and the great scholars and the majority of the Muslims came to agreement regarding the hadith of the event of the Ghadīr Khumm, where the Prophet said: "Of whomsoever I am master and guardian, so is Ali his master and guardian." After that, Omar said: "Well done, and congratulations to you, O Abū al-Hasan! You brought the night to daybreak, and you are my master and guardian, and the master and guardian of every Muslim man and woman."

Thus, these statements express consent to the transmission of authority to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. After these events, they once again turned to their old passion, the love of authority, clinging to the caliphate and the hoist-

ing of banners, and pulling down those of their opponents through numerous plans and tricks to overlook the facts, and by ignoring what was right, they sold the covenant of God for a trifling price. What a bad transaction this was!

The Prophet was on the point of death, but before passing away he said: "Bring me some paper and ink to write something to save you from disputing about the caliphate after my demise." Omar said: "Leave this man on his own; he is speaking nonsense; he has gone out of his mind, or is delirious because of his severe illness."

In this brief description, Imam Ghazzālī has done his best to reveal the facts. Of course, this kind of perception is due to his desire, passion, love of authority, and wanting the title of "His Holiness" for himself. Ghazzālī left his position as head of the Baghdad Religious School, ignoring all worldly titles and sitting by himself for ten years in Shām, purifying himself with religious mortifications, challenging Satanic concupiscence, and asking for the assistance of the Divine. In this way he shut the door to superstition and discovered the truth, as can be seen in his *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍilāl*, written in Shām.

Indeed, God does not ignore the trials and struggles of good people, as this verse states:

وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِينَا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنَا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ.

...and those who struggle in Our cause, We surely guide them in Our way; for indeed God is with those who do good (29:69). And also the following:

مَنْ عَمِلَ صَالِحًا مِنْ ذَكَرٍ أَوْ أُنْثَى وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ فَلَنُحْيِيَنَّهُ حَيَاةً طَيِّبَةً وَلَنَجْزِيَنَّهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ بِأَحْسَنِ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ.

...and whoever does a righteous deed—whether he is a man or a woman—provided he is a believer, We will certainly let him live a happy life, and reward him with his earnings for the finest deeds he has been doing (16:97).

Without doubt, Ghazzālī was a Sunni and a follower of Omar—perhaps even a prejudiced one. However, searching for what was right and illuminating the light of guidance in his heart, he certainly followed the Shi'a path by taking a step towards sanctity.[236]

The late jurisprudent, wise narrator, and great commentator of Islam, Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī, said: "He was busy writing the *Iḥyā' al-'Ulum* of the Sunnis, and later he became a Shi'a and wrote the *Sirr al-'Ālamayn*."[237]

So according to what we have said so far, one must not pay attention to the words of some of the recent scholars who claim that the *Sirr al-'Ālamayn* was not written by Ghazzālī.[238] This is because most

of the reasons for what he mentions in his book are, in addition, answers and explanations, some of which are faultless and free from error. So it is unfair for any scholar to reject or malign it without thoroughly investigating it.

Among those who have accepted the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn* as Ghazzālī's are Dhihabī in the *Dhihabī* and the *Mizān al-Iᶜtidāl*;[239] Ibn Hajar Asqalānī in the *Lisān al-Mīzān*;[240] Sibṭ Ibn Juzī in the *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣ al-Aimmah*;[241] Gurjī Zaydān in the *Ādāb al-Lughat al-Arabiyya*;[242] Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī in the *Maḥajjat al-Bayḍā*;[243] ᶜAllāmah Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī in the *Biḥār al-Anwār*;[244] and ᶜAllāmah ᶜAbd al-Husayn Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr*,[245] in the introduction of which he refers to the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn*, printed in Najaf by Ṭabāṭabāʾī Hasani.[246] The sayings of those who have related the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn* to Ghazzālī are given by Qāḍī Nurullāh Tostary in the *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, and Shaykh Ali Ibn ᶜAbd al-Āli Karākī was another investigator into the relationship. ᶜAllāmah Tehrāni also says in the *Tāj al-ᶜUrūs* and *al-Itḥāf fī Sharḥ al-Iḥyā* that it relates to Ghazzālī.[247]

Nevertheless, the love of leadership misled Ṭalḥah and Zubayr for a long period, and having twelve thousand fighters at their disposal, they did not pay allegiance to Ali, who was the only source of virtue among all beings at the time of the Prophet. Later on they attacked the poor and weak, mercilessly killing them with the false excuse that they had killed Othmān. There were so many other injustices against the Muslims that could have been expected from the shaykhs, whose record of enmity towards Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib goes back many years to the time of the Prophet, so none of this is surprising.

That is why the religion of the Shiᶜa considers such people unlawful, and believes that the imamate belongs only to the Infallible Master, who is free of pride and passion and can guide the people to truth and the straight path.

A man's knowledge increases as his passions become less, and his nature becomes fairer and milder. This is so when he stands firm and serves the religion, looks after the needy and protects Islam, and does not do the opposite in the name of Islam and usurp the rights of rightful ones such as Ali. Covering his main nature and character, he prepares to protect the needy, gives away the Fadak of the beloved of the Prophet, and to save society, he breaks the front gate of Fāṭimah and presses her so forcefully against the wall that she collapses and miscarries her baby. All this has happened in the name of religion under the protection of the law and the Book of God. After that, they discarded the rights of the people and oppressed them so that they gave up their hopes and beliefs and consequently surrendered, and this

went on until the time when the Banī Omayyad came to govern, and then the Banī ᶜAbbās, who also did the same as their predecessors. They pressured the people and took away their belongings and blood in order to build palaces and support lives of luxury. As it is said: "In the beginning, if the first brick is laid at a slant, the distortion is raised high into the heavens."

The shaykhs mixed the religion with their own way of thinking. They disturbed the pure water in the spring and let the people drink their contaminated water; they made the clean air foggy and let the people breathe it. However, Ali, the standard of goodness and justice, did not trespass against the Book of God and the tradition of His Prophet, and did not say a baseless word to help him run the government in the best way. He never said: "I give value to the shaykhs' tradition" in order to have more allies. When ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAuf wanted to pay allegiance to Ali and said: "I pay homage to you, but the condition is that I will also carry out the traditions of the shaykhs along with the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet," he openly said: "No, only the Book of God, the tradition of the Prophet, and my own opinion." Here, he ignored rulership on the basis of the shaykhs' traditions, which were baseless. And when ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān wanted to make it a condition that Ali did not give power to the Banī Hāshim, he did not accept it, and said: "I will give authority to anyone I think is capable, from among the Banī Hāshim or any others."

Ibn Qutayba Dīnavarī has related:

ثُمَّ أَخَذَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بِيَدِ عَلِي فَقَالَ لَهُ: أُبَايِعُكَ عَلَى شَرْطِ عُمَرَ أَنْ
تَجْعَلَ أَحَداً مِنْ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ عَلَى رِقَابِ النَّاسِ!
فَقَالَ عَلِي عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ: مَالَكَ وَلِهَذَا إِذَا قَطَعْتَهَا فِي عُنُقِي؟! فَإِنَّ عَلَى الاجْتِهَادِ لِأَئِمَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ حَيْثُ عَلِمْتُ
الْقُوَّةَ وَالْأَمَانَةَ اسْتَعَنْتُ بِهَا، كَانَ فِي بَنِي هَاشِمٍ أَوْ غَيْرِهِمْ! فَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ: لَا وَاللهِ حَتَّى تُعْطِيَنِي هَذَا
الشَّرْطَ. فَقَالَ عَلِي: وَاللهِ لَا أُعْطِيكَهُ أَبَداً. فَتَرَكَهُ فَقَامُوا مِنْ عِنْدِهِ[248]

Then ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān held Ali by the hand and told him: "I swear allegiance to you and your caliphate, but like Omar, I make a condition that you never give authority over the people to the Banī Hāshim."

Ali replied: "What is your concern with this problem; why do you impose this on me? It is my responsibility to do my best for the nation of Muhammad, and I will ask for help wherever I think it is useful for my government, whether it is among the Banī Hāshim or elsewhere." ᶜAbd

al-Raḥmān said: "By God, you will not get the caliphate unless you accept this condition." Ali answered: "By God, I will never make any condition with you." Thus, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān left Ali and went his own way.

And similarly, Ibn Qutayba relates that after Ali preached to the people of Kūfa and was preparing them for *jihād*, he said in his sermon: "I am commanding every chief of the tribes to write a letter and hand it to me. In the letter it must state how many fighters each one has at his disposal, as well as children who can fight, their slaves, and other supporters. Give those letters to me so that I can check them, God willing." The first tribal chief who stood up and answered was Saᶜd Ibn Qays Hamadānī; next were Addī Ibn Ḥātam and Ḥujr Ibn ᶜAdī, and then the great men of the other tribes. They all surrendered to Ali and obeyed him, and soon an army was set up.

Ibn Qutayba then continued, and later said:

فَبَايَعُوهُ عَلَى التَّسْلِيمِ وَالرِّضَا، وَشَرَطَ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابَ اللهِ وَسُنَّةَ رَسُولِهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه (و آله) وسلم، فَجَاءَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ خَثْعَمَ فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: بَايِعْ عَلَى كِتَابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ، قَالَ: لَا، وَلَكِنْ أُبَايِعُكَ عَلَى كِتَابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ وَسُنَّةِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ. فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: وَمَا يُدْخِلُ سُنَّةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ مَعَ كِتَابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ؟ إِنَّمَا كُنَّا عَامِلِينَ بِالْحَقِّ حَيْثُ عَمِلَا. فَأَبَى الْخَثْعَمِيُّ إِلَّا سُنَّةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ، وَأَبَى عَلِيٌّ أَنْ يُبَايِعَهُ إِلَّا عَلَى كِتَابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه (و آله) وسلم.

فَقَالَ لَهُ حَيٌّ عَلِيٌّ: تُبَايِعُ؟ قَالَ: لَا، إِلَّا عَلَى مَا ذَكَرْتُ لَكَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: أَمَا وَاللهِ لَكَأَنِّي بِكَ قَدْ نَفَرْتَ فِي هَذِهِ الْفِتْنَةِ وَكَأَنِّي بِحَوَافِرِ خَيْلِي قَدْ شَدَخَتْ وَجْهَكَ، فَلْحِقْ بِالْحَوَارِجِ تُقْتَلْ يَوْمَ النَّهْرَوَانِ.

قَالَ قَبِيصَةُ: فَرَأَيْتُهُ يَوْمَ النَّهْرَوَانِ فَيِلًا، قَدْ وَطِئَتِ الْخَيْلُ وَجْهَهُ، وَشَدَخَتْ رَأْسَهُ، وَمُثِّلَتْ بِهِ؛ فَذَكَرْتُ، قَوْلَ عَلِيٍّ وَقُلْتُ: لِلّٰهِ دَرُّ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ، مَا حَرَّكَ شَفَتَيْهِ قَطُّ بِشَيْءٍ إِلَّا كَانَ كَذَلِكَ.[249]

The Men of Khathᶜamī's Abstention Unless They Follow the Shaykhs' Traditions

After that, the great men and chiefs of the tribes willingly paid homage, and Ali made a condition that they had to act upon the Book of God and follow the Prophet. And then a man from the tribe of Khathᶜam[250] came, and Ali said to him: "Swear allegiance to the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet." The man said: "Never! But I swear allegiance to you, on the basis of the Book of God, the traditions of the Prophet, and the traditions of Abū Bakr and Omar." Ali told him: "But the traditions of Abū Bakr and Omar do not match up

with the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet. Abū Bakr and Omar could be men of truth if they would act upon the right." The men of Khathᶜamī refused to pay allegiance without Abū Bakr's and Omar's being part of the condition, but Ali did not accept his allegiance with the traditions of Abū Bakr and Omar side by side with the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet.

Seeing that the men of Khathᶜamī still stood by this condition, Ali asked him: "Do you want to pay allegiance?" He answered: "No, not without the condition that I told you of before."

Therefore Ali told him: "Be aware, by God, that I see you are rejecting us through sedition, and resisting paying allegiance. I clearly see that your face is battered under the hooves of the horses of our army!" Later on, the man joined the Khārijites and was killed on the Day of Nahrawān.

Qabiṣa says:

> On the Day of Nahrawān, I saw him killed and fall to the ground under the hooves of the horses. They battered his face and broke his head, and then cut him into pieces. At that moment I remembered Ali's statement, and I said to myself: "May God pour His endless blessings upon Abū al-Hasan; he has never uttered a word without its happening as he said."

Right from the start, the only aim of Ali and his loyal companions was to establish the law of the Qurᵓan and the traditions of the Prophet. They avoided any changes likely to happen in the right religion, and defended it against aggression. If we consider Ali's virtuous rule and the virtuous behavior of his companions, we can understand how anyone who disagreed with Ali could not be his companion or follow him—willingly or unwillingly, he would be dismissed, because his condition would not fit in with Ali's spiritual condition and the thinking and way of life of his companions. Time and again Ali would say: "Our aim is God and establishing justice; we will strive in this way until the end of our lives. We have no aim apart from this, for we are not after rank, position, and rulership."

Abūdhar Ghifārī, the righteous and brave fighter, and a dear companion of the Prophet, stood alone against the tyrannical Muᶜāwiyah in Shām, and after sending him by force to Medina, he challenged Othmān's aggression.

The great historian and narrator and well-known astronomer Masᶜūdī, who wrote about the exile of Abūdhar to Rabazah in his *Murūj al-Dhihab* and that Othmān refused to escort him, has said: "Ali, Hasan and Husayn, and ᶜAqīl, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Jaᶜfar, and Ammār Yāsir

escorted him." That they did so was too much for Othmān. And he said:

فَلَمَّا رَجَعَ عَلِيٌّ، اسْتَقْبَلَهُ النَّاسُ فَقَالُوا: إِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْكَ غَضْبَانُ لِتَشْيِيعِكَ أَبَا ذَرٍّ، فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: غَضِبَ الْحَيْلِ[251] عَلَى اللُّجُمِ.[252]

"When Ali returned from escorting Abūdhar, the people received him gladly, and said: 'O Master of the Faithful, Othmān is angry because you escorted Abūdhar.' Ali answered: 'Then he has become angry like horses dislike their harnesses.' This means that his anger was meaningless."

And when Ali met Othmān later that night, Othmān expressed his disapproval to Ali, saying: "Why have you rejected my command?" Ali answered: "I did not reject your command." And Othmān said: "Have you not heard that I had prohibited anyone from seeing Abūdhar? " and Ali answered:

أَوَكُلُّ مَا أَمَرْتَنَا بِهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ نَرَى طَاعَةً لِلَّهِ وَالْحَقَّ فِي خِلَافِهِ نَعْصِيكَ؟! بِاللهِ لَا نَفْعَلُ!

"What? Command whatever you wish, but if we find it against the rule of God, should we still follow it? No, by God, we would never do so."

The Letters of Ten Companions of the Prophet to Othmān Concerning His Aggression

Ibn Qutayba Dīnavarī says:

> The historians and researchers have said that a group of the companions of the Prophet came together and wrote down in a letter whatever Othmān had done contrary to the traditions of the Prophet, as well as the two caliphs before him. It included the welfare taxes from Africa, which was for God and the right of the Prophet, and the poor and needy, all of which he had given to Marwān Ḥakam[253] for constructing new buildings. They have established that he even built seven houses for himself in Medina: one for his wife Nā'ilah, another for his daughter ʿĀyisha, and others for additional family members. And he built palaces in Dhi Khashab with the income from the welfare tax that belonged to God and His Prophet. He gave high positions in the government to his young and unskilled cousins and other relatives who were brought up by the Banī Omayyad. None of them had ever spoken with the Prophet or taken his advice. His emir, Walīd Ibn ʿAqaba, in Kūfa, when he had control of Kūfa, once made four cycles of prayer for the morning prayer instead of

two because he was in a state of intoxication. He then told the congregation: "If you like, I am ready to pray more for you—I can pray even more than four cycles!"

After receiving the news, Othmān did not punish him, as he always delayed it. He pushed the Supporters and Migrants aside and did not consult them in these matters; he took the lands on the outskirts of Medina for himself, and did not let the people use them as pasture for their animals. He assigned countless monthly payments to his relatives and acquaintances who had not even seen the Prophet, let alone had conversations with him. They neither defended Islam nor went to *jihād* for the victory of Islam. Besides beating the people with sticks, he began lashing them, although before him, the two caliphs would not lash the people, but only beat them with short bamboo sticks.

After writing the letter, ten of them joined up to get it to Othmān. Ammār Ibn Yāsir and Miqdād Ibn Aswad were aware of this letter. When they set out to take it to Othmān, one by one they separated and disappeared on the way, leaving the letter with Ammār. They all went away and left Ammār alone, and he continued on his way until he reached Othmān's house.

It was very cold on that day, and Ammār asked Othmān if he could enter the house, and he let him in. When Ammār went in, he saw Marwān Ibn Ḥakam and his family sitting with Othmān, and he handed the letter to Othmān.

Othmān read the letter, and then asked Ammār: "Did you write this letter?" and Ammār answered: "Yes, I did."

Othmān asked: "Was anyone with you when you wrote it?" Ammār answered: "Yes, there were some men with me, but on the way here they became frightened of encountering you and disappeared." Othmān asked: "Who are those people?" Ammār said: "I am not going to mention their names." Othmān asked: "So why did you dare do such a thing?" Marwān said: "O Commander of the Faithful, this negro slave called Ammār has persuaded the people against you, so if you kill him, then you will teach the whole nation a good lesson. And then, when they remember him, they will not do such a thing again."

Othmān ordered him to be beaten, and the others also, until they tore his stomach apart and Ammār collapsed and became unconscious. They dragged his corpse out and left it outside in front of the gate.

Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet, ordered some men to carry him to the front of her house, and he was left there. The tribe of

Banī Mughayrah, to which Ammār belonged, became angry with Othmān, and on the same day, when Othmān left the house for the midday prayer, Hishām Ibn Walīd Ibn Mughayrah stood in his way and said: "By God, if Ammār died because of this cruel action of yours, then I will kill a great man of the Banī Omayyad." Othmān said: "But you are not there [you are not alive at that time]."

Then Othmān went to the mosque. He saw Ali sitting in the mosque as he wrapped up his head because of a headache. Othmān said to him:

> O Abū al-Hasan! By God, I wonder whether I wish for your death or for you to live! By God, if you die, then I have no desire to be alive for anyone else, because I cannot find anyone like you. But as you live, then I always find someone attached to you and relying on you, so that you may do whatever you like with him, without his knowing what to do. Nothing stops me from killing him but his position with you and your respect for him. Therefore, my case with you is similar to that of a disobedient son with his father. If the son dies, the father mourns his loss, and if he lives, he always causes problems for his father. So take a peaceful way that we, too, can follow. Or if you choose to fight, then we, too, understand what to do against you. Do not leave me suspended in the middle and living a dilemma. By God, if you kill me, you will not find another like me. And if I kill you, I cannot find anyone else for me. And whoever causes sedition, he cannot be a guardian for the nation.

Ali said:

> There is a good answer for every word you say. However, I have a bad headache, and cannot answer you now. I will simply repeat the same words that ᶜAbd Ṣālih has already spoken:

فَصَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ وَاللهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ عَلَى مَا تَصِفُونَ.[254]

> When Ali was caliph, he was determined to do his best, and do away with the innovations and return to how things were at the time of the Prophet, for example returning to the public treasury the lands that Othmān had given to his family and friends. On the second day after receiving the caliphate, he said in a sermon:

أَلَا كُلُّ قَطِيعَةٍ أَقْطَعَهَا عُثْمَانُ وَكُلُّ مَالٍ أَعْطَاهُ مِنْ مَالِ اللهِ فَهُوَ مَرْدُودٌ فِي بَيْتِ الْمَالِ، فَإِنَّ الْحَقَّ الْقَدِيمَ لَا يُبْطِلُهُ شَيْءٌ. وَاللهِ لَوْ وَجَدْتُهُ قَدْ تُزُوِّجَ بِهِ النِّسَاءُ وَمُلِكَ بِهِ الْإِمَاءُ، لَرَدَدْتُهُ، فَإِنَّ فِي الْعَدْلِ سَعَةً، وَمَنْ ضَاقَ عَلَيْهِ الْعَدْلُ فَالْجَوْرُ عَلَيْهِ أَضْيَقُ.[255]

> Let it be known that every piece of land that Othmān has given away, and whatever of God's property he has distributed, must be returned to the public treasury. By God, if I am told that people have given any of it as dowries to their wives, or that they have bought slave girls with it, I will surely return everything back to the public treasury, because there remains victory in justice, and whoever disagrees with justice will face oppression and difficulty.

That is to say, if someone is unable to conduct his life in accordance with justice, he is incapable of doing so even by aggression, because there is resistance to aggression, whereas this is not so with justice.

Although Ali was caliph for about five years, he could not do away with all the innovations of the shaykhs, and thereby let people know that nothing is reliable other than the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet. This was because the people were so accustomed to the innovations that only a new religion could remove their wrong beliefs. Abandoning the innovations meant giving up their religion.

Consequently, they tried to save their tradition, and those in Ali's armies were all Sunni, apart from a few whom he had trained, and they were really defending the traditions of the shaykhs.

They were merely called Shiʿa because, as being basically supporters of Othmān and Muʿāwiyah, they nominally regarded Ali as the fourth caliph. In this way, they just followed his command on a probationary footing, but otherwise followed the traditions of the shaykhs.

They did not accept Ali as the first and the real caliph of the Prophet, and did not consider him assigned by the Prophet. Ali states as much very clearly in a sermon: "If I wanted to accept the traditions of the shaykhs, especially those of Omar, my army would disperse and would not support me."

The Sermon by Imam Ali on Changing the Traditions

In the *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*, Muhammad Ibn Yaʿqūb Kulaynī has narrated from Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, through Hamʾmad Ibn ʿĪsā, back to Ibrāhīm Ibn Othmān, who quotes Ibn Qays Hilālī as saying:

> The Master of the Faithful delivered a sermon. He began by praising God and offering salutations to the Prophet, and then said:

أَلَا إِنَّ أَخْوَفَ مَا أَخَافُ عَلَيْكُمْ خَلَّتَانِ: اتِّبَاعُ الْهَوَى وَطُولُ الْأَمَلِ. أَمَّا اتِّبَاعُ الْهَوَى فَيَصُدُّ عَنِ الْحَقِّ، وَأَمَّا طُولُ الْأَمَلِ فَيُنْسِي الْآخِرَةَ.

Then he continued:

إِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: كَيْفَ أَنْتُمْ إِذَا لَبَسَتْكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ يَرْبُو فِيهَا الصَّغِيرُ، وَيَهْرَمُ فِيهَا الْكَبِيرُ، يَجْرِي النَّاسُ عَلَيْهَا وَيَتَّخِذُونَهَا سُنَّةً، فَإِذَا غُيِّرَ مِنْهَا شَيْءٌ قِيلَ: قَدْ غُيِّرَتِ السُّنَّةُ، وَقَدْ أُتِيَ النَّاسُ مُنْكَراً. ثُمَّ تَشْتَدُّ الْبَلِيَّةُ وَتُسْبَى الذُّرِّيَّةُ وَتَدُقُّهُمُ الْفِتْنَةُ كَمَا تَدُقُّ النَّارُ الْحَطَبَ وَكَمَا تَدُقُّ الرَّحَى بِثِفَالِهَا، وَيَتَفَقَّهُونَ لِغَيْرِ اللهِ، وَيَتَعَلَّمُونَ لِغَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ، وَيَطْلُبُونَ الدُّنْيَا بِأَعْمَالِ الْآخِرَةِ.

ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ بِوَجْهِهِ وَحَوْلَهُ نَاسٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ وَخَاصَّتِهِ وَشِيعَتِهِ فَقَالَ: قَدْ سُبِلَتِ الْوُلَاةُ قَبْلِي أَعْمَالًا خَالَفُوا فِيهَا رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُتَعَمِّدِينَ لِخِلَافِهِ، نَاقِضِينَ لِعَهْدِهِ، مُغَيِّرِينَ لِسُنَّتِهِ؛ وَلَوْ حَمَلْتُ النَّاسَ عَلَى تَرْكِهَا وَحَوَّلْتُهَا إِلَى مَوَاضِعِهَا وَإِلَى مَا كَانَتْ فِي عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَتَفَرَّقَ عَنِّي جُنْدِي حَتَّى أَبْقَى وَحْدِي أَوْ قَلِيلٌ مِنْ شِيعَتِي الَّذِينَ عَرَفُوا فَضْلِي وَفَرْضَ إِمَامَتِي مِنْ كِتَابِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَسُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Be aware! How is it when sedition comes? It comes in disguise showing you facts in reverse, and puts you in doubt and confusion. It lasts for a long time until the young grow up, and the old become even older. In that situation, people adjust their affairs accordingly.

They take it as the tradition, and then, if there is some small change, they say that the tradition has been changed, and people do ugly things. Then sedition worsens, and they take children away as captives. Sedition assaults them as fire burns wood, like a stone mill that grinds seeds.

People becomes jurisprudents for the ungodly; they learn and act for others; they act in the name of the Hereafter, but seek a worldly life.

Then Ali turned to his Household, his own close ones, and his followers who were gathered around him, and said:

The guardians and emirs before me have done many things against the will of the Prophet; they were determined to do so; they broke the covenant of the Prophet and manipulated his traditions.

> Now, if I force people to stay away from them, and if I change their innovations to the original ways, and make things as they were at the time of the Prophet, then even my army would forsake and abandon me. Yet there might remain a few of my followers who know my virtues—those who have learned of my position through the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet.

Then Ali mentioned some of the innovations, and said: "If I change these and turn to the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet, then they will abandon me and disperse."

At that very moment he stated:

وَاللهِ لَقَدْ أَمَرْتُ النَّاسَ أَنْ لَا يَجْتَمِعُوا فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ إِلَّا فِي فَرِيضَةٍ، وَأَعْلَمْتُهُمْ أَنَّ اجْتِمَاعَهُمْ فِي النَّوَافِلِ بِدْعَةٌ فَتَنَادَى بَعْضُ أَهْلِ عَسْكَرِي مِمَّنْ يُقَاتِلُ مَعِي: يَا أَهْلَ الْإِسْلَامِ غُيِّرَتْ سُنَّةُ عُمَرَ، يَنْهَانَا عَنِ الصَّلَاةِ فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ تَطَوُّعاً[256] وَلَقَدْ خِفْتُ أَنْ يَثُورُوا فِي نَاحِيَةِ جَانِبِ عَسْكَرِي، مَا لَقِيتُ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ مِنَ الْفُرْقَةِ وَطَاعَةِ أَئِمَّةِ الضَّلَالَةِ وَالدُّعَاةِ إِلَى النَّارِ.[257]

> By God, I commanded the people not to pray the *tarāwīḥ* prayers together during the nights of Ramaḍān, and that they should only communally gather in the mosque for the obligatory prayers. I warned them that voluntary prayers in a congregation during the nights of Ramaḍān were only an innovation. Subsequently, certain men in my army shouted and warned each other, saying: "O Muslims! The traditions of Omar have been changed. Now this man is telling us not to pray our voluntary prayers in a congregation during Ramaḍān!" They made such rules that I was afraid they would cause dissent within my army. Such are the difficulties this nation has put me through. They have disobeyed me; they have been misled by false leaders who were dragging them to the Fire.

We should consider the difficulties the Immaculate Imams have gone through to reconcile the situation with the time of the Prophet and his virtues, and how they have done their best and sacrificed their lives to do so.

Ṭabarī has related in his history the letter of Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdullāh to Manṣūr Dawānīqī, where he says:

وَإِنَّ أَبَانَا عَلِيّاً كَانَ الْوَصِيَّ وَكَانَ الْإِمَامَ فَكَيْفَ وَرِثْتُمْ وَلَايَتَهُ وَوُلْدُهُ أَحْيَاءٌ.

"Indeed, our father, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was successor to the Prophet and the imam of the nation. So how have you inherited his guardianship while his children are alive?"

The letter is lengthy, and in answer to it, Abū Jaʿfar Manṣūr wrote a detailed letter, which included the following:

وَلَقَدْ طَلَبَهَا أَبُوكِ لِكُلِّ وَجْهٍ، فَأَخْرَجَهَا نَهَاراً وَمَرَّضَهَا سِرّاً وَدَفَنَهَا لَيْلاً فَأَبَى النَّاسُ إِلَّا الشَّيْخَيْنِ وَتَقْضِيلَهُمَا.[258]

"Indeed, whenever possible, your father, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, sought after the guardianship. He used to take Fāṭimah outside to make his claim, and would teach her without the people's knowledge. He buried her in the middle of the night, but people did not stop following the ideas of the shaykhs."

Ibn Khaldūn relates Manṣūr Dawānīqī's letter slightly differently:

وَلَقَدْ طَلَبَ بِهَا أَبُوكِ مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهٍ وَأَخْرَجَهَا تُخَاصِمُ إِلَى آخره[259]

"Indeed, your father sought the guardianship by any means, and he took Fāṭimah outside to argue in order to get the guardianship back."

Hence, our point is that the shaykhs' ideas had so affected the people that Ali could not eradicate all of them during his guardianship. People thought the same way during the time of Imam Hasan, because of the power of the Banī Omayyad, who were under the influence of Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān and were trying to do away with the ideology of the imamate and remove the Prophet's name in Shām. These innovations clearly became stronger day by day. This continued until Muʿāwiyah announced to Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah: "I will not rest until I bring down the name of Muhammad from the top of the minarets and bury it forever."

In his history book, Masʿūdī has recorded events in the year 212 AH when Maʾmūn's herald announced by his command that the caliph is free from obligation and blame if anyone speaks good of Muʿāwiyah, considers him superior to any of the Prophet's Household, or says that the Qurʾan was created by man, and similar things. Then there were differences among the people as to why Maʾmūn had announced such a thing about Muʿāwiyah, and everyone took a different side.

One group say that one of the companions of Maʾmūn had related a story from Muṭraf Ibn Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah Thaqafī to Maʾmūn. Zubayr Ibn Bakkār described this story in his book as "the famous news of the triumph," and he narrated it to Muwaffaq. The story records how Zubayr Ibn Bakkār said that he heard Madāʾinī say that Muṭraf Ibn Mughayrah Ibn Shuʿbah said the following:

> My father and I were two guests of Muʿāwiyah. He used to go to Muʿāwiyah and they would have a conversation, after which he would come to

me and tell me what they had talked about. He used to tell me of his intelligence and was surprised by what he had heard from him. That was until one night my father returned from Muʿāwiyah's presence and stopped eating food. I found him very depressed, but I waited to see him improve. I thought that he was sorry about our situation, or that something unpleasant we had done had made him unhappy.

I asked him: "O father, why do I see you so depressed tonight?" He answered: "O my son, I have returned from the most devilish people!" I asked: "How is that? What are you talking about?" and he said:

When he and I were sitting in private, I said to him:

> O Commander of the Faithful, your position amongst us is of such a high degree, that you have affected all of us. Now it is time you displayed your justice and increased your generosity, because you are getting too old now. And how nice it would be if you were kind to your brethren, the Banī Hāshim. By God, now they have no power, but you fear them.[350]

To this, Muʿāwiyah said:

هَيهَاتَ هَيهَاتَ!! مَنَعَكَ أَخُو تَيْمٍ فَعَدَلَ وَفَعَلَ مَا فَعَلَ، فَوَاللهِ مَا عَدَا أَنْ هَلَكَ، فَهَلَكَ ذِكْرُهُ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولَ قَائِلٌ: أَبُو بَكْرٍ. ثُمَّ مَلَكَ أَخُو عَدِيٍّ فَاجْتَهَدَ وَشَمَّرَ عَشْرَ سِنِينَ، فَوَاللهِ مَا عَدَا أَنْ هَلَكَ فَهَلَكَ ذِكْرُهُ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولَ قَائِلٌ: عُمَرُ. ثُمَّ مَلَكَ أَخُونَا عُثْمَانُ فَمَلَكَ رَجُلٌ لَمْ يَكُنْ أَحَدٌ فِي مِثْلِ نَسَبِهِ، فَعَمِلَ مَا عَمِلَ (وَعُمِلَ بِهِ): فَوَاللهِ مَا عَدَا أَنْ هَلَكَ فَهَلَكَ ذِكْرُهُ وَذِكْرُ مَا فَعَلَ بِهِ.

وَإِنَّ أَخَا هَاشِمٍ يُصْرَخُ بِهِ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ خَمْسَ مَرَّاتٍ: أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّداً رَسُولُ اللهِ فَأَيُّ عَمَلٍ يَبْقَى مَعَ هَذَا؟ لَا أُمَّ لَكَ، وَاللهِ إِلَّا دَفْناً دَفْنا.

Far be it from you; far be it from you! What? How can I save my fame and respect by being good to the Banī Hāshim and visiting them? O our brother Tay'yimi! Abū Bakr ruled and he was just towards the people, doing what was best. However, as soon as he died, his name and fame also died and were buried with him. Now and then his name is mentioned when someone talks of him. After him, our so-called brother Omar governed. He tried to run the government for ten years. However, I swear by God that as soon as he died, his name and fame also disappeared, except if someone mentions Omar when talking. Then our brother Othmān took over the government. No one was like him in lineage, and he did his best,

and forgave those who did him wrong; but by God, as soon as he died, his name and fame also died, and were buried with him. Now and then his name is mentioned when someone speaks of him.

However, as for this Hāshimī brother of ours, that is, the Prophet, whose name is mentioned five times a day with the words *ashʾhadu anna Muhammadan rasūl Allah*, what should I do to similarly be announced like this and be remembered and mentioned forever? Listen, you may cry over your mother's death, but by God, I will never be at peace unless I bury this name in the earth! This means that no matter what good I may do, because this name is called out, my name will be forgotten as soon as I pass away. I have tried my best to remove Muhammad's name from the face of the earth, for his name does not allow anyone else to be proud of their actions. And stopping his name from being called from the top of the minarets means imposing the harshest treatment on the Banī Hāshim, and finally doing away with them.

How Muʿāwiyah Changed the Mission of the Prophet into That of a Monarch

Masʿūdī said that, as already mentioned, after Maʾmūn ʿAbbāsīd heard this story it was announced throughout the Muslim lands: "The caliph is free of blame if anyone speaks well of Muʿāwiyah or considers him to be greater than any of the companions." Maʾmūn sent many letters across the Islamic lands for Muʿāwiyah to be cursed from the pulpits of the mosques. This command was too much for the people to bear, and they respected him, so dissatisfaction erupted among them. But they told Maʾmūn that cursing Muʿāwiyah would do nothing to the government, so he dismissed what he had told them to do.[261]

Muʿāwiyah then said: "By God, I did not fight with you over your prayers, fasting, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, or paying the *zakāt*, which you do as you will. I fought with you only about the government, about being your emir; and although you disapproved of it, God honored me with it."

Whenever ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sharīk mentioned this matter, he would say[262] that these words slander God. One day when a man spoke harshly to Muʿāwiyah with complaints from the people, he did not answer him, and simply said: "We have nothing to do with the people unless they interfere with our business in the government."

By what we have written so far, it should be clear that according to Omar's command, Muʿāwiyah transformed the role of prophethood to straightforward statesmanship and government. He

looked upon sanctity with disdain, and then, like the policy of a king, he entrusted the government to Yazīd and asked the people to swear allegiance to him. He ruined Islam as it was established by the Prophet and people such as Ḥamza, Jaʿfar, and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, totally destroying the religion of Muhammad and his traditions. According to his own words, he left the prayers, fasting, the *ḥajj*, and *zakāt* for the people to do as they wished. He assigned the Arabs to rule over the people. He went even further, so that people forgot the nobility and virtues of Ali and overlooked him in the history of Islam, regarding him as hostile and oppressive. The fact that prophethood illuminated the guardianship was forgotten, and there remained no more than simply the names of Islam and the Qurʾan. In fact, the situation became such that Islam seemed like a historical event that appeared at a certain period of time, and before long vanished.

The Deeds of Imam Ali and Scientific Applications of Imam Ṣādiq for the Benefit of Islam

In such a condition, Islam needed two great thrusts: one practical, and another scientific.

The practical thrust came with the Master of the Martyrs, Husayn Ibn Ali, like a sudden thunderclap that shook the tyrannical government. It was like a violent volcano raising a tumult throughout the entire world. Husayn's pain was so severe that it raised up the dead and sent the living to their deaths! In effect, it proved that Muhammad's religion and traditions were turning the entire world to ashes! For this to happen, nothing could have been better and more reasonable than Husayn's plan. He did what ought to be done by choosing a purposeful uprising with the fire of universal love, and with a well-planned sermon he chose the straight way and announced it to the world, as follows:

اللّٰهُمَّ إِنَّكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ مَا كَانَ مِنَّا تَنَافُساً فِي سُلْطَانٍ، وَلَا الْتِمَاساً مِنْ فُضُولِ الْحُطَامِ، وَلَكِنْ لِنَرَى الْمَعَالِمَ مِنْ دِينِكَ، وَنُظْهِرَ الْإِصْلَاحَ فِي بِلَادِكَ، وَيَأْمَنَ الْمَظْلُومُونَ مِنْ عِبَادِكَ، وَيُعْمَلَ بِفَرَائِضِكَ وَسُنَنِكَ وَأَحْكَامِكَ.

فَإِنْ لَمْ تَنْصُرُونَا وَتُنْصِفُونَا قَوِيَ الظَّلَمَةُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا فِي إِطْفَاءِ نُورِ نَبِيِّكُمْ، وَحَسْبُنَا اللّٰهُ وَعَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْنَا وَإِلَيْهِ أَنَبْنَا وَإِلَيْهِ الْمَصِيرُ [263]

O my Creator! Indeed, You know that whatever is given us (such as the desire to rise up, to enjoin good behavior, to forbid the disapproved, and the victory of the innocent over crushing oppression) are not by our own will, such as gaining leadership and being proud of it. Nor is it to increase our property and the ornaments of the world. All such things would only testify to Your expansion and the signs of Your religion, and bring change and peace to Your land to ease the lives of Your worshiping slaves, so that they may live in peace and safety to fulfil Your commands.

So, O people, if you do not wish to assist us, and want to be unjust to us, then these aggressive rulers will dominate you; they will apply all their strength to crush you into the ground, and extinguish the light of your Prophet. But God is enough for us; we rely on Him and will return to Him—for our return is surely to Him.

But the scientific thrust was achieved by Imam Ṣādiq. After the Muslims rose up against the government of the Banī Omayyad and Abū Muslim Khurāsānī's rebellion, the situation was primed for Imam Ṣādiq to take authority, but he did not choose to do so. He was well aware that if he had authority in his hands, then all his time and energy would be spent on controlling Muslim society and running the government: planning and organizing people's lives in all the towns and cities; choosing governors and chiefs and directing them on what to do and what not to do; the handling of warfare and dealing with opposition; and many hundreds of other things to bring peace in the land. There would be no time or opportunity to deal with the scientific aspects of religion and life by making known the religion of the Prophet, jurisprudence, commentaries and hadiths; changing the traditions of the ignorant to those of Islam and Muhammad; discovering the truth and announcing it to the people; and teaching the people correctly about Islam. This scientific method needed much time and effort. Therefore, to fight his own passions and desires, he struggled day and night for thirty years. He represented the religion in the best way and rekindled the spiritual strength of the Prophet, Ali, and the guardianship. Hence, the school of the Shi'a law became known as the Ja'fari school. Although all the imams have guarded the religion, at that particular time when all thoughtful people, writers, and scholars were coming up with their own ideas and freely putting them down on paper, this exceptional divine task fell upon Imam Ṣādiq. He established schools of religious theory in Medina and Iraq to train thousands of students and teach Islamic ideology and philosophy in the best possible way. He trained well-known narrators, historians, orators, and sages in those schools. He did whatever was

needed to purify Islam, and unveiled whatever was far from the common imagination. This remarkable move of his allowed almost everyone, whether friend or foe, to know of his immense knowledge and piety, and his disregard for the ornaments of the world, and they confessed to his exalted position and great efforts.

Imam Abū al-Fatḥ Muhammad Shahristānī (d. 548 AH) was a Sunni, and had even mocked the Shiʿa, but he said concerning Imam Ṣādiq:

أَبُو عَبْدِاللهِ جَعْفَرُبْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الصَّادِقُ، ذُو عِلْمٍ عَزِيزٍ فِي الدِّينِ، وَأَدَبٍ كَامِلٍ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ، وَزُهْدٍ بَالِغٍ فِي الدُّنْيَا، وَوَرَعٍ تَامٍّ عَنِ الشَّهَوَاتِ. وَقَدْ أَقَامَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ مُدَّةً يَقِيدُ الشِّيعَةُ الْمُتَيَمِّنَ إِلَيْهِ، وَيَفِيضُ عَلَى الْمُوَالِينَ لَهُ أَسْرَارَ الْعُلُومِ، ثُمَّ دَخَلَ الْعِرَاقَ وَأَقَامَ بِهَا مُدَّةً مَا تَعَرَّضَ لِلْإِمَامَةِ قَطُّ وَلَا نَازَعَ أَحَداً فِي الْخِلَافَةِ، وَمَنْ غَرِقَ فِي بَحْرِ الْمَعْرِفَةِ لَمْ يَطْمَعْ فِي شَطٍّ، وَمَنْ تَعَلَّى إِلَى ذِرْوَةِ الْحَقِيقَةِ لَمْ يَخَفْ مِنْ حَطٍّ. وَقِيلَ: مَنْ أَنِسَ بِاللهِ تَوَحَّشَ عَنِ النَّاسِ، وَمَنِ اسْتَأْنَسَ بِغَيْرِ اللهِ نَهَبَهُ الْوَسْوَاسُ.[264]

Abū ʿAbdullāh Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad Ṣādiq was a man of great knowledge in religion and philosophy and was pious in his dealings with the world and resisted the unlawful, passion, and lust. He lived in Medina for a while with his relatives and those closest to him. He gave special attention to those who sought knowledge. He went to Iraq and lived there for a while. He never objected to the government of the time, nor did he discuss with any of his opponents. It is true that he who is plunged in immense knowledge avoids greed, and whoever reaches the highest wisdom is never afraid of being considered low. It has been said that he who becomes familiar with God is not afraid of the people; but whoever becomes familiar with other than God, his imagination will destroy his nobility and foundation.

Although Ahmad Amīn Miṣrī was not friendly towards the Shiʿa, and made accusations against them many times, upon hearing Shahristānī's words, he said: *inna hu min ausaiᶜ al-nāsᵓ ilman wa iṭṭilāᶜan*, and because of his truthfulness, he was known as Ṣādiq ("the truthful"). He lived from 83 to 148 AH. Although he was reluctant to have authority, Manṣūr Dawānīqī would not stop tormenting him. The imam had a beautiful garden in Medina where all the scholars, with their different religious ideas, would gather in his presence. It is related that two well-known jurisprudents, Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik Ibn Anas, were his students, as were Wāṣil Ibn ʿAṭāᵓ Muʿtazilī and Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān, the famous chemist. Ahmad Amīn has related some of

Imam Ṣādiq's statements concerning intention, destiny, and disaster, and he has praised his vast knowledge.[265]

Nevertheless, there should be other books written about the relationship of the practical uprising of Husayn, the Master of the Martyrs, and the scientific efforts of Imam Ṣādiq, so that the truth may be unveiled. For our part, we have given a brief explanation to show the way for other experts to follow.

May endless praise be to God, and much gratitude to Him for assisting us in bringing forth the eighth volume of *Knowing the Imams*, in the series *A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam* on the 12th of Ramaḍān, in 1405 AH, in the Holy City of Mashhad—and praise be to His Unity, and may He bestow blessings upon His Prophet and his descendants.

ENDNOTES

[1] In *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1394 AH), Majlisī says: "This statement is like the narratives of the Sunnis who maintain that the demise of the Prophet was on the twelfth of Rabīᶜ al-Awwal." In the *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr al-Damashqī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr edition, n.d.) vol. 2, p. 489, it states:

قَالَ ابن جرير وغير واحد: مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم بعد يوم عَرَفَة بأحد و ثمانين يوما.

"Thus, according to what they say, the duration of eighty-one days is the same as in the narratives of the Shiᶜa."

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1 (Qum: lithograph, n.d.), pp. 527 and 528.

[3] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* (n.p.: Majmaᵓ Iḥyāᵓ al-Thiqāfat al-Islamiyya, 1411 AH), vol. 1, hadith 211, p. 157.

[4] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, hadith 212, p. 158.

[5] Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muᵓyyed Ḥammuᵓī, *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn* (Beirut: Muᵓassisat al-Mahmudi, 1400 AH), vol. 1, section 12, hadith 39, p. 73.

[6] Ibid. hadith 40, pp. 74–75.

[7] Ibn al-Asākir, *Tārīkh al-Damascus* (Beirut: Dār al-Taᵓāruf, 1395 AH), vol. 2, hadith 585, pp. 85–86.

[8] Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* (n.p: Dār al-Maᵓrifa, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 259.

[9] The translation of

ثامن عشرة

is incorrect.

[10] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, hadith 213, p. 158.

[11] Ahmad Ibn Ali al-Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Beirut: Dār al-Ktub al-ᶜIlmiyya, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 290.

[12] Abū al-Fidāᵓ al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr Damishqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Egypt: Maṭbaᵓat al-Saᶜāda, 1351 AH), vol. 7, p. 349.

[13] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 259.

[14] *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, hadith 215, p. 160.

[15] That the Day of Ghadīr was a Thursday is attributed to another hadith. However, our research tells us that ᶜArafa was on a Friday and Ghadīr on a Sunday.

[16] Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (Najaf: Maṭbaʾa al-Ḥaydari, n.d.), pp. 80–81. In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 336–37, section 29, the first hadith is narrated the same as in Khārazmī, but only four lines are printed. It is also in *al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, pp. 205–6, which is narrated from the *Ghāyat al-Marām*. It is similarly narrated in Abdul al-Husayn Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr fi Kitāb al-Sunnah wa al-Adab* (Tehran: Maṭbaʾa Ḥaydari, 1373 AH), vol. 1, p. 234, from Khārazmī. It has been narrated by Hāfiẓ Abū Naʿīm Iṣfahānī in the same style and with the same meaning in his book *Ma Nazala min al-Qurʾān fi Ali*, where he has all six lines of the elegies from Hissān at the end of the hadith. It is also mentioned in the *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 60, with the propagation and perfection verses concerning Ali, as in Abū Naʿīm's book *Ma Nazala min al-Qurʾān fi Ali*.

[17] Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 94; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 234, and Khārazmī in *al-Manāqib*.

[18] Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfiʿī, *al-Manāqib* (Tehran: Maktab Islamiyya, 1394 AH), pp. 18–19, hadith 24; Muhammad H. Ṭabāṭabāʾi, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān* (Qum: Islamiyya, 1386), vol. 5, p. 208, from *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Maghāzilī.

[19] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, p. 208.

[20] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, sect. 12, hadith 39, pp. 72–73; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, hadith 2, p. 337; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, hadith 13, p. 235; and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, pp. 206–7.

[21] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, sect. 12, hadith 40, pp. 74–75; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, hadith 2, 337; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, hadith 13, p. 235; and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, pp. 206–7.

[22] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, hadith 4, p. 337; and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, p. 206.

[23] We should be aware that when the Prophet lifted Ali up, it was so that he would hold him by the arms with two hands and raise him, since

فَأَخَذَ بِضَبْعَيهِ فَرَفَعَهُما حَتّى نَظَرَ النّاسُ بَياضَ إِبْطَي رَسُولِ اللهِ

means: "The Messenger of God held Ali with two arms, and lifted him so high that the people around saw the armpit of the Messenger of God."

The meaning of

ضَبْع

is "arm" or "between the elbow and the wrist." In some narratives it has been said: "The people [who were then present] saw the armpits of both the Messenger of God and the Commander of the Believers." In that case, Ali's body would have been higher than the Prophet's arm, and Ali's hands level with the hands of the Prophet, with his feet level with the Prophet's knees. Nonetheless, in all the versions, the Prophet raised Ali's body up in his hands.

[24] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, 5th narrative, p. 337; and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, p. 206.

[25] Sibṭ Ibn Juzī (Lithograph: 1287 AH), *Tadhkirat Khawās al-Umma*, p. 18.

[26] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, hadith 6, p. 337; and *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, p. 207.

[27] *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 2, p. 491.

[28] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 213–14.

[29] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 338–41.

[30] Ali Ibn ʿĪsā Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah* (Tabriz: Banī Hāshim Press, 1381 AH), p. 95.

[31] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, p. 94. The author on pp. 25, 92, and 96 has mentioned a memory about him and his Ḥanbalī friend.

[32] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, p. 94.

[33] Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fi ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān* (Egypt: Musawiyyah Press, 1278 AH), vol. 1, p. 23.

[34] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 213–14.

[35] *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 2, p. 489.

[36] Fakhr Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Mafātīh al-Ghayb* (Egypt: Dār al-Ṭibāʾat al-Āmira, n.d.), vol. 3, p. 529.

[37] *Tafsīr Abū al-Suʿūd*, published in the margins of the *Tafsīr al-Mafātīh al-Ghayb*, vol. 3, p. 523. It is mentioned in Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Minār* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʾrifa, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 154; Bayhaqī, *Shaʿb al-Imān*; *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 2, p. 489. Ibn Jarīr and some others have said that it was eighty-one days after ʿArafa. See *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 257; Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī's *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 98, from Ibn ʿAbbās and Suddī. Some other commentators have written that after the revelation of the verse, the Prophet was no more than seventy days in this world.

[38] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 6, p. 332; Abū al-Faraj Shāfiʿī, *Ṣirāt al-Ḥalabiyyah* (Egypt: Maṭbaʾat al-Azhar, 1351 AH), vol. 3, p. 391; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1358 AH), vol. 2, p. 323; *Tafsīr al-Ṭanṭāwī*, vol. 3, p. 146.

[39] According to the astrological system, a maximum of three successive months can be twenty-nine days each, and a maximum of four successive months thirty days each. See our book entitled

حول مسألة رؤية الهلال ولزوم اشتراك الآفاق عند رؤية الهلال في دخول الشهور القمرية

[40] In Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* (Egypt: Maṭbaʾat Muṣṭfā, 1373), vol. 6, p. 80, it is narrated that Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib said that the last verse revealed to the Prophet was

يَسْتَفْتُونَكَ قُلِ اللَّهُ يُفْتِيكُمْ فِي الْكَلَالَةِ.

[41] Muhammad H. Ṭabāṭabāʾī has stated: "That which is certain to the scholars is that the *Surah al-Māʾida* was revealed in the *Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ*."

[42] *al-Itqān fi ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, p. 35.

[43] In the *Tafsīr al-Minār*, vol. 6, p. 156, which is probably drawn from the *Tafsīr Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī* and then confirmed to be from Qatādah and Saʿīd Ibn Jābir. However, the writer of *al-Minār* rejects it.

[44] Ibn ʿAbbās and Suday have related this possibility in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 79. Ṭanṭāwī, in his *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 145, tends to accept it as the completion of the religion. Others are quoted in *al-Minār*, vol. 6, p. 154.

[45] This probability has been related in *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 80, from Qatādah and Saʿīd Ibn Jābir, and in *Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 258, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

[46] Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr al-Minār*, compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, vol. 6, pp. 153 and 154.

[47] Abū Naṣr Ibn ʿAyyāsh Salamī, *Tafsīr ʿAyyāshī* (Qum: Maṭbaʾa ʿIlmiyya, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 293. This hadith is also in Sayyid Mūsawī Baḥrānī, *Tafsīr al-Burhān* (Lithograph, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 444; and *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 306.

[48] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 258.

[49] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 258; and *Tafsīr al-Minār*, vol. 6, p. 155. In his commentary, printed by Muẓaffarī, Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī relates the narrative in vol. 2, p. 98, as: "They have narrated that Tariq Ibn Shahāb said: 'A Jew went to Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and said: "A verse was sent down to your Messenger that, if it had been sent to us, we would celebrate that day." Omar asked what day it was, and he said: "It was *al-yaum akmaltu lakum dīnakum*." Omar said: "I know when and where this verse was sent down. We were in the presence of the Messenger of God, and it was a festival, and will remain so until the Day of Resurrection."'

Therefore, the narrative does not refer to the Day of ʿArafa, and it is most probable that the festival was for the Day of Ghadīr al-Khumm."

[50] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 258; *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 2, p. 489; and *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 80.

[51] Both Jawharī and Ibn Athīr believe the term

بَدَا، يَبْدَأ

is intransitive.

[52] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 259.

[53] Jawharī Ṭanaṭāwī, *al-Jawāhir fi Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (*Tafsīr Ṭanaṭāwī*) (Egypt: Maṭbaʾa al-Muṣṭafā al-Bābi, 1350 AH), vol. 3, pp. 145 and 146.

[54] In *Tafsīr al-Minār*, vol. 6, p. 167, it says that Ibn ʿAbbās said: "God has perfected the religion, for He would never leave it deficient." This is preferable to when Omar said: "There is nothing after perfection except decline."

[55] *al-Mīzān fi Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, vol. 5, pp. 179–94 and 208–13.

[56] This is an allusion to Qurʾan 54:29: *But they [the tribe of Thamud] called their companion, and he took a sword and hamstringed her [the Prophet Ṣāliḥ's camel].*

[57] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, p.151, from Ibn al-Qurayʾa. See also Qurayʿī.

[58] In Shaykh ʿAbbās Qummī, *Safinat al-Biḥār* (Najaf: lithograph, 1355), vol. 2, p. 425, concerning the suspension, it states that Ibn al-Qurayʿī Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was from Baghdad, and was a judge in Sendīyah, a village between Baghdad and Anbār. He was a fair, sensitive, and good-humored man. He wrote some elegies about the innocence of Fāṭimah that are in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 10, section 7, p. 54, from

يا مَن يَسائِل دائِباً عَن كُلِّ مَسأَلَةٍ سَخيفَة

to the end. It also states in the *Safinat* that Qāḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-Qurayʿī died in 367 AH, and that Qurayʾa was his great-grandfather. We should note that they therefore call him Qurayʿī, and these poems are not by Abū Bakr Bāqillānī, because, according to the *Safinat al-Biḥār*, vol. 1, p. 91, he died in 403 AH. Qurayʾa's name was Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Bāqillānī's name was Muhammad Ibn Ṭayyib. Because of the similarity of these two names, most Persian translators have made the mistake of attributing these poems to Bāqillānī, but the error is quite clear. Muḥaddith Qummī also has these poems in ʿAbbās Qummī, *Bayt al-Aḥzān* (Isfahan: Husayniyyah ʿImādzadeh, 1404).

[59] Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Egypt: Ṭabʾat al-Amīrīyya, 1312 AH), "Ghazwāt al-Khaybar," vol. 3, p. 55.
[60] *Ṣirāt al-Ḥalabiyyah*, p. 399.
[61] Shaykh Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Risālat fi Maʿrafat al-Sahāba*, p. 54, according to Ḥudhayfah Ibn Yamān in the *Rijāl* of Kashshī, where he has not mentioned the seventh person, i.e. Shaykh Ḥurr. See also *Ikhtiṣāṣ* of Shaykh Mufīd, with documents from Zurārah quoting Imam Abū Jaʿfar.
[62] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 181 and 182, from ʿAbdī, who quotes Sufyān Ibn Muṣʿab ʿAbdī al-Kūfī.
[63] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 181.
[64] Muhammad Ali Mudarres, *Rayḥānat al-Adab* (Tabriz: Shafaq, n.d.), vol. 4, p. 99.
[65] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 155–60. The final part of the poem, lines 98–106, is given as follows:

فَصَاحَةُ شِعْرِي مُذْ بَدَتْ لِذَوِي الْحِجَى تَمَثَّلَتِ الْأَشْعَارُ عِنْدَهُمُ لُكْنَا
وَخَيْرُ فُنُونِ الشِّعْرِ مَا رَقَّ لَفْظُهُ وَجَلَّتْ مَعَانِيهِ فَزَادَتْ بِهَا حُسْنَا
وَلِلشِّعْرِ عِلْمٌ إِنْ خَلَا مِنْهُ حَرْفُهُ فَذَاكَ هَذَاءٌ فِي الرُّؤُسِ بِلَا مَعْنَى
إِذَا مَا أَدِيبٌ أَنْشَدَ الْفَتْ خِلْتَهُ مِنَ الْكَرْبِ وَالتَّنغِيصِ قَدْ دَخَلَ السَّجْنَا
إِذَا مَا رَأَوْهَا أَحْسَنَ النَّاسِ مَنْطِقاً وَأَنْبَئَهُمْ حَدْثاً وَأَطْيَبَهُمْ لَحْنَا
تَلَذُّ بِهَا الْأَسْمَاعُ حَتَّى كَأَنَّهَا أَلَذُّ مِنْ أَيَّامِ الشَّبِيبَةِ أَوْ أَهْنَى
وَفِي كُلِّ بَيْتٍ لَذَّةٌ مُسْتَجَدَّةٌ إِذَا مَا انْتَشَاهُ قِيلَ: يَا لَيْتَهُ ثَنَّى
تَقَبَّلَهَا رَبِّي وَوَفَّى ثَوَابَهَا وَثَقَّلَ مِيزَانِي بِخَيْرَاتِهَا وَزْنَا
وَصَلَّى عَلَى الْأَطْهَارِ مِنْ آلِ أَحْمَدٍ إِلَهُ السَّمَاءِ مَا عَسْعَسَ اللَّيْلُ أَوْ جَنَّا.

We should be aware that Ibn Ḥammād ʿAbdī was from Basra during the time of Shaykh Ṣadūq, and Najāshī understood him well. He related from the books of Abī Ahmad Jallūdī Baṣrī, who died in 332 AH. However, ʿAbdī was from Kūfa. Sufyān Ibn Muṣʿab was also from Kūfa, and he lived during the time of Sayyid Ḥimyarī. He apparently died in 178, as did Ḥimyarī. Imam Ṣādiq instructed his followers to read his elegies in their homes. See *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p. 297.

[66] At the time of the Prophet, when he wanted to bring the people together, some of his men would cry out *"al-ṣalāt jāmiᶜa"* to gather the people together for the prayer, knowing that there was something important to hear. They would then gather in the mosque.

[67] Ismāʿīl Ibn Muhammad Ḥimyarī, *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī* (Beirut: Dār al-Maktaba al-Ḥayāt, n.d.), elegy 166, p. 397; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p.229; *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa*, 2nd edition (Beirut: Maṭbaʾa Ibn Zaydūn, n.d.), vol. 12, p. 154; and *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 535.

[68] *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī*, elegy 181, p. 430. Verses 15 and 16 are from the elegy of fifty-two lines on the virtues of Ali. See also Muḥsin Amīn ᶜĀmilī, *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa*, vol. 12, p. 157; *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 535.

[69] He has recorded

اشتغالها

in the *al-Manāqib*, as well as in the *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa*. In the margin of *al-Manāqib*

مصحح اشتقالها

is recorded with a "th" sound. And in the poetic works of Ḥimyarī

اشتقالها

has been written with a

غ

sound instead of

ق

As we have not found an explanation for the

ق

sound, we have included

غ

in the poem.

[70] *Diwān al- Ḥimyarī*, no. 133, pp. 329–31; *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa*, vol. 12, p. 161; *al-Manāqib*.

[71] Abū Muhammad ᶜAunī and Ṭalḥah Ibn ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Abī ᶜAun Qassānī in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 24–140, where there is a translation of this and some elegies in praise of the Household, including Ali and Imam Ṣādiq. These are truly very well-organized elegies. The ones concerning the Household are so charming that many sought out his

works. Munīr Shāʿir, the father of Ahmad Ibn Munīr, used to read the poems of ʿAunī in the markets of Tripoli, soothing the listeners. However, the elegies about the Household did not please Ibn Asākar, and he tried to defame Munīr Shāʿir, and would say: "ʿAunī shows himself up by giving voice to such poems!" Years later, Ibn Khallākan became familiar with the poems of ʿAunī, and he, too, showed his jealousy by saying that he was simply presenting his voice to the crowd.

[72] *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī*, elegy 198, pp. 458 and 459; *Aʿyān al-Shiʿa*, vol. 12, p.164; *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 537.

[73] The whole verse reads: *And when Our clear revelations are recited to them, they who look not for the meeting with Us, say: Bring us a reading other than this, or change it. Say: It is not for me to change it of my own accord; I follow naught but what is revealed unto me. Indeed, if I disobey my Lord, I fear the retribution of an awful day.*

[74] From Qurʾan 72:21–23. This is because the verse contains *wa lā ḍarran wa lā rashdān*, but it does not have *wa in aṣaytuhū*.

[75] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 537 and 538; and *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 124. On line 24 of the *al-Manāqib*, the term *yajidūnahā* is made plural with "j," and in *al-Ghadīr* with the redundant *yajidūnā bihā*. The purpose is the same in both cases, and the female pronoun refers to the caliphate.

[76] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 535–38.

[77] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 538; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 125.

[78] Ibid. p. 538.

[79] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 539.

[80] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 539.

[81] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 539.

[82] Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ḥimyarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-Uqbā* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qudsi, 1356), p.67.

[83] *Dhakhāʾir al-Uqbā*, p.68.

[84] Ibn Athīr al-Jazarī, *Usd al-Ghāba* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ Turāth al-Arabi, n.d.), p.28.

[85] Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ḥusaynī (Khānd Mīr), *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (Ṭabʾ al-Ḥaydari, n.d.), vol. 1, p.411. See Ibn Khāwand Shāh, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ* (lithograph, n.d.), vol. 2, for the event of 10 AH.

[86] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 272–83.

[87] Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr al-Minār*, vol. 6, pp. 465–66, where he quotes part of *Surah Ḥashr* (59:10).

[88] Ibn Qutayba Dīnawarī, *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat* (Egypt: Maṭbaʾa Muṣṭafā, 1312 AH), pp. 12–13. In Ahmad Amīn al-Miṣrī, *Ḍuhā al-Is-*

lam (vol. 1, p.402), Ahmad Amīn says that Ibn Qutayba was Abū Muhammad ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Muslim, a Persian from Marv. He gained much knowledge in Baghdad and became a judge. He later on became a religious scholar, becoming a teacher and given his title. He lived from 213–76 AH.

[89] *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 195.

[90] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 12.

[91] Ḥammūʾī, *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, narrative 109, section 27, p. 145, and narrative 110, section 28, p. 147.

[92] Abū Naʿīm Ahmad Ibn ᶜAbdullāh Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al Awliyāʾ* (Egypt: Maṭbaʾa Khānji, 1351 AH), vol. 1, p.64, from Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Ghālib, quoting Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abī Khaythama, from Ibād Ibn Yaᶜqūb, quoting Mūsā Ibn Othmān Ḥaḍramī, from Aᶜmash, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, quoting the Prophet himself. And in the *History* of Ibn ᶜAsākir, vol. 2, pp. 428–30, there are five similar narratives from different documents.

Ibn Shahr Āshūb mentions in the *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 546, that some people of Thiqāf related the same thing from Aᶜmash, through ʿIbāya Asadī, from Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and also from Layth, from Mujāhid, through Abū Mālik, and Ibn Abī Laylā, from Dāwūd Ibn Ali, from his father, and Ibn Jarīj, from "Aṭā," ʿIkrimah, and Saʿīd Ibn Jubayr, all of whom related it back to ᶜAbbās. Also from Awām Ibn Ḥūshab, from Mujāhid, and Aᶜmash, from Zayd Ibn Wahab, from Ḥudhayfah, all of whom have quoted the Prophet as saying:

ما أنزل الله تعالى آية في القرآن فيها «يا أيها الذين آمنوا» إلا وعلي أميرها وشريفها.

In Hughayfa's narrative it is

الا كان لعلي بن أبي طالب لبها ولبابها.

In another narrative it is

إلا علي رأسها وأميرها.

In the narrative of Yūsuf Ibn Mūsā Qaṭṭān and Wakiᶜ Ibn Jarrāḥ it is

أميرها وشريفها لأنه أول المؤمنين إيمانا.

In the narrative of Ibrāhīm Thaqafī and Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Baṭa ᶜAkbarī from ʿIkrimah, from Ibn ᶜAbbās:

الا علي رأسها وشريفها وأميرها.

Also, Imam Riḍā has written:

ليس في القرآن «يا أيها الذين آمنوا» إلا في حقنا، ولا في التوراة «يا أيها الناس» إلا فينا.

[93] Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, section 2, concerning those slain among Jamāl's people, p.111; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, pp. 21–22, narrative 42.

[94] Muḥammad Ḍiyā' Shahāb and ʿAbdullāh Ibn Nūḥ, *al-Imam al-Muhājir*, the book written about the condition of Ahmad Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-ʿAriḍī Ibn al-Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, p.154.

[95] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 1, p. 65.

[96] It states in *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 317, that Ibn Athīr Jazarī prepared an army to send to Shām in Muḥarram, 11 AH, and he assigned Osāma as the chief of the army. Osāma was the son of Zayd and the adopted son of the Prophet, who commanded him to lead the horses to the border of Bilqā and Darūm through to the land of Palestine. The hypocrites in Osāma's army began saying: "He has assigned a young man as a chief among the Migrants and the Helpers!" On hearing this, the Prophet said:

إنْ تطعنوا في إمارته فقد طَعَنْتُم في إمارة أبيه من قبلُ، وإنه لخليقٌ للإمارة، وكان أبوه خليقاً لها.

وَعَبَ مع اسامة المهاجرونَ الأوّلون منهم: أبو بكر وعُمَر.

"Your objection to Osāma's leadership is not surprising, and the first thing to happen since his father, too, was mocked and objected to. However, Osāma truly deserves to be the chief of the army, as was his father." To mobilize Osāma's army, the Prophet commanded all the previous Migrants and Helpers, as well as Abū Bakr and Omar, to join the army.

[97] Imam Ali, *Nahj al-Balāghah (Sharḥ*—20 vols.) ed. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 17, p. 183; and Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 335.

[98] Every Arab male wears a kerchief on the head with fringes loosely dropping onto the neck, which is held in place with a piece of rope-like material called an *iqal*.

[99] Ibn Asākar, *Tārikh al-Damishq* (*The History of Damascus*), vol. 2, pp. 464–80, where the same thing is related from Kashmīrī.

[100] *Tārikh al-Damishq*, p. 459.

[101] Ibid. p. 457.

[102] *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, p. 28.

[103] *Tārikh al-Damishq*, vol. 2, pp. 259–60.

[104] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 546–47; and *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, p. 21, narrative 40.

[105] The writings of Sulaym Ibn Qays, p.148. We will explain in lesson 16 how the dispute between Salmān and Abū Bakr questions how the scholars gained leadership and the reasons for it, and how, in this instance and similar ones, the most learned can command and judge. This is explained in the sermon of Imam Hasan in the presence of Muʿāwiyah. See Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī* (Najaf: Maṭbaʾat al-Nuʿmān, 1383 AH), vol. 2, p. 172; and *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 298, narratives 26 and 27.

[106] It is mentioned in *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, pp. 547–48, that it is related from Ibn ʿAbbās that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said to the Prophet:

السلام عليك يا رسول الله

and the Prophet replied:

وعليك السلام يا أمير المؤمنين ورحمة الله وبركاته

Ali then said: "Why! You are still alive, but you call me the Commander of the Believers!" and the Prophet said:

> Yes! By the Command of God, Gabriel has given you this rank while I am alive. O Ali, yesterday, when I was conversing with Gabriel and you passed by, you did not salute. Then, Gabriel said: "Why did the Commander of the Believers not salute us? By God, if he salutes us we will be very pleased, and we will reply to him with pleasure." And our companions do not like your having the title of Commander of the Believers or Imam.

Once a man went to Imam Ṣādiq and said: "O Commander of the Believers!..." The imam stopped him, saying: "Be quiet! No one is pleased with this title except him who is involved in the tricks of Abū Jahl!"

In the *Tārīkh* of Ṭabarī (Dar al-Maʿārif al-Miṣr), vol. 4, p.208, Abū Jaʿfar has said: "The first man whom the people called the Commander of the Believers was Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. This title continued, and even now the caliphs are using it."

Ahmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related that Umm ʿAmr quoted the daughter of Ḥassān Kūfi as saying that his father had said:

> When Omar took authority, they told him:
>
> يا خليفه خليفه رسول الله
>
> and Omar said:

This title is too lengthy for people to call the caliphs, one after another:

يا خليفه خليفه خليفه رسول الله!

However, you are the believers and I am your master.

And, since then, they called him the Commander of the Believers.

[107] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, pp. 23–24.

[108] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, pp. 221–22, interim of the explanation of sermon 5.

[109] *Tārīkh* of Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 209; and *Tārīkh al-Kāmil* (Beirut: 1385 AH), vol. 3, p. 326. In these two books, *maᶜkūs bi rummatihi* has been put in the second line, which is where the neck of an animal is tied to one of its legs.

[110] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 6; *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 1, pp. 160–61.

[111] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 12.

[112] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, "Ghadīr al-Khum."

[113] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 3. This sermon is mentioned in its entirety by Shaykh Raḍī; and Shaykh Mufīd in the *Irshād* (lithograph, 1285 AH), pp. 159–60. Shaykh Ṣadūq also mentions it in the *Maᶜāni al-Akhbār*, pp. 360–62.

[114] Abū Bakr stated during times of hardship and difficulty: "Cut your allegiance with me, cut your allegiance with me! I am not the best among you while Ali is among you."

[115] When a camel gets excited, something appears from its mouth called

شِقْشِقَه

in Arabic, which appears to be its tongue, and the camel then makes a loud sound called *hadīr*. Hence, the phrase *hadar al-baᶜīr* is when the camel produces the *hadīr*. And after Ali said:

تلك شِقشِقة هَدَرت

it was interpreted as

شِقشِقة

when in fact it was

تلك شقشقة هَدَر البعيرُ

[116] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, ed. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, records Muhammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's investigation, vol. 11, p. 113.

[117] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 9.

[118] The phrase

فَلْيَتَبَوَّءْ مَقْعَدُهُ مِنَ النَّارِ

can be read in the passive voice, which means: "His bottom rests on the fire." It can also be active, as the doer, in which case it means: "He must rest his bottom on the fire."

[119] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, p.552, section 54, narrative 1.

[120] In Shihāb al-Dīn Yāqūt Ḥamūdi, *Muᶜjam al-Buldān* (Egypt: Maṭbaᵓat al-Saᶜāda, 1324 AH) it states that the term *Khāl* is also the name of a place in Yemen. It is mentioned in the poem because the best quality material was made there.

[121] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has explained this, and also Ibn ᶜAbbās. A full explanation is in the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, pp. 57–58.

[122] *Tārīkh Ṭabarī* reported by Muhammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 4, p.222.

[123] *Surah Muhammad*. The verse immediately before this is

وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَتَعْسًا لَهُمْ وَأَضَلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ.

[124] *Tarīkh Ṭabarī*, Muhammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's analysis, vol. 4, pp. 222–24; a version from translations by the jurist of the city of Medina is in *al-Iḍāḥ* by Faḍl Ibn Shādhān (Tehran: Tehran University Press), no. 1347, pp. 166–77, where in the final part it is written that Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "Since that day, I saw anger on Omar's face until he died." In addition, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has narrated this story from the *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* while explaining Omar's virtues and politics, vol. 3, from the Egypt publication of 1329 AH, p.107, where he quotes from the narrative of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Omar. Ibn Athīr also writes about Omar in vol. 3, p.24, from around 23 AH. And Suyūṭī, translating from Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmī, citing Saᵓīd Ibn Musayyib, relates the story in *al-Aghānī* (vol. 2, p.132) where he explains a poem from the book *Mughnī al-Labīb* (Beirut: Lajnat al-Turāth al-Arabi), with annotation of Shanqiṭi). On page 131 Suyūṭī says that Abī Sulmī has written it with an upper case "o" on the letter "s," although this is not to be found in Arabic. Abī Sulmī's name was Riyāḥ Ibn Rabīᶜah. And finally, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has added that as ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAbbās stood up and left, Omar said to those present:

وَاهًا لِابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ مَا رَأَيْتُهُ لَاحَى أَحَدًا قَطُّ إِلَّا خَصَمَهُ.

"Woe upon this Ibn ᶜAbbās! I have never seen him discuss with the people unless he condones the opposite party!"

[125] Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd Rabah Andulusī Mālikī, *ᶜIqd al-Farīd* (n.p., 1331 AH), vol. 3, p. 77.

[126] Ibn al-Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, p. 171.

[127] Jurji Zaydan, *Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islamī* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1352 HS), vol. 1, p. 53. Backing up the words of Jurji Zaydan is the statement of Omar to Ibn ᶜAbbās, which we explained in the previous discussion concerning Ṭabarsī. In the narrative, according to the phrase that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd uses in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 107, Omar said to Ibn ᶜAbbās:

كَرِهَتْ قُرَيْشٌ أَنْ تَجْتَمِعَ لَكُمُ النُّبُوَّةُ وَالْخِلَافَةُ فَتَجْمَحُوا النَّاسَ جَمْحاً، فَنَظَرَتْ قُرَيْشٌ لِنَفْسِهَا فَاخْتَارَتْ، وَوُفِّقَتْ فَأَصَابَتْ.

("It did not please the Quraysh to see you, the household of Banī Hāshim, have both prophethood and the caliphate, and take pride in this honor and humiliate other people. Therefore, the Quraysh chose the caliph and succeeded in their plan to get what they wanted").

Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

وَأَمَّا قَوْلُكَ: إِنَّا نُجَحَفُ، فَلَوْ جَحَفَنَا بِالْخِلَافَةِ جَحَفَنَا بِالْقَرَابَةِ وَلَكِنَّا قَوْمٌ أَخْلَاقُنَا مُشْتَقَّةٌ مِنْ خُلُقِ رَسُولِ اللهِ الَّذِي قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى لَهُ: وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَى خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ. وَقَالَ لَهُ: وَاخْفِضْ جَنَاحَكَ لِمَنِ اتَّبَعَكَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ.

> And these words that you say, that we would not be humiliated if we had the caliphate in our hands! This is what never separates from us: We are not of those who are proud, and we never display superiority over others. This is because we have the moral attitude of the Messenger of God, concerning whom God states: "O Messenger, you are truly a unique sign of goodness and moral attitude." He also states: "O Messenger, spread your arms wide over those who follow you."

Then Omar said to him:

عَلَى رِسْلِكَ يَا ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ، أَبَتْ قُلُوبُكُمْ يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ الْإِغْشَاشَ فِي أَمْرِ قُرَيْشٍ لَا يَزُولُ وَحِقْداً لَا تَحُولُ.

"O Ibn ᶜAbbās, be quiet! O Banī Hāshim, your hearts are full of rancor against us, so that you never find peace." Then Ibn ᶜAbbās, after referring to the Verse of Purification, said:

وَأَمَّا قَوْلُكَ حِقْداً، فَكَيْفَ لَا يَحْقِدُ مَنْ غُصِبَ شَيْئَهُ وَرَآهُ فِي يَدِ غَيْرِهِ.

"How can one not have rancor, whose rights have been taken away and are at the disposal of his opponent?"

[128] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 1, p. 64; Ibn Yūsuf Ganjī Shāfiʿī, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib* (Najaf: Maṭbaʾa Ḥaydari, 1390 AH), p. 67.

[129] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, see Muhammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's analysis of sermon 26. See also Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, p. 1259; and *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*, vol. 2, p. 244 (1376 AH). Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī has also mentioned this narrative in his book, pp. 209–10.

[130] Shaykh Mufid has related through his chains the direct words of Omar saying:

لا تأتوه بشيء فانه قد غلبه الوجع.

"Do not bring anything, for indeed pain has overtaken him." See the *Amālī*, pp. 36–37; and *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 787. Omar's statement

عُمَرَ إنَّ الرَّجلَ لَيَهْجُر

is related as

ما شأنه هَجَر

by Omar's son, in a separate book from Ḥāmidi, an amalgamation of the books of Ṣaḥīḥayn, Musnad Bukhārī, and Musnad Muslim, as does Sayyid Ṭāwūs, who relates it in

طرائف.

In the *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, p. 274, Majlisī relates his narrative. Majlisī mentions it in two separate places in a Sunni book, first in a description of the Prophet's condition and his words in vol. 6, p. 787, and in the book

الفتن الواقعة بعد الرسول

in the section on Omar, vol. 8, pp. 273–74, and from then on, he spends several pages on the subject. In vol. 6, he mentions that the Prophet wanted a pen and paper (to write his will), and Omar dismissed his request. Though it is different in style and chosen language, the spirit and meaning are the same. Bukhārī, Muslim, and certain other Sunni narrators have given him the title of Shaykh, and recorded him as such in their books. For example, *Ṣaḥīḥ* mentions it on page 2 of his book, where he says:

وكفى بذلك لك كفراً وعناداً وكفى به لمن اتخذه مع ذلك خليفة وإماماً جهلاً وضلالا.

And in vol. 8, p. 274, he says that Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs states in the *Ṭarā'if* that a most interesting occurrence is that all Muslims bear witness that their Messenger wanted to write his will before his demise, to prevent any upheaval after his death, but Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb prevented him from writing the letter. Thus, he is to be blamed for whatever disaster and misfortune happened after that. Nevertheless, so often we see that the majority of the people follow Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb as their caliph, bear witness to his actions, and take him as a great person; and whoever finds fault with Omar they consider a disbeliever.

[131] Muhammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn Manī' al-Baghdādī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1376 AH), vol. 2, p. 242.

[132] *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 436; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p.227; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj-al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 133.

[133] *Sharḥ Nahj-al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 578, sermon 26.

[134] Ibid., vol. 2, p.578, sermon 26.

[135] Yanbow is a habitation with abundant running water and agriculture to the right of Razawī Mountain upon leaving Medina in the direction of the sea. It is a night's journey by camel from Razawī, and seven stations from Medina, according to *Mu'jam al-Buldān, The Atlas of the Towns*.

[136] The allusion was to a sudden accident, without an earlier plan.

[137] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, pp. 56–57.

[138] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, second sermon, p. 30.

[139] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, ed. Muhammad 'Abduh (Egypt: Maṭba'at 'Īsā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), sermon 6, pp. 41–42.

[140] Ibid. where it is written

حَتَّى يَوْمُ النَّاسَ هَذَا

but in explanation, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has written it in *Sharḥ Mullā Fatḥullāh Kāshī* as

حَتَّى يَوْمِ النَّاسِ هَذ.

None after him has written it so.

[141] Rowit M. Ronaldson, *'Aqidat al-Shi'a (Shi'a's Belief)* (Egypt: Maṭba'at Ṣirāṭ al-Miṣr, 1365 AH), p. 84.

[142] This statement, along with the sermon of Imam Hasan Mujtabā in the presence of Mu'āwiyah has been narrated as follows:

> When Ali was on the pulpit recounting the priorities and virtuous of the Household, he gave an important sermon, saying:

وَقَدْ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلّى اللهُ عليه وآله وسلم: مَا وَلَّتْ أُمَّةٌ أَمْرَهَا رَجُلًا وَفِيهِمْ مَنْ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا لَمْ يَزَلْ أَمْرُهُمْ يَذْهَبُ سَفَالًا حَتَّى يَرْجِعُوا إِلَى مَا تَرَكُوا.

See Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī*, vol. 2, p. 172; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 1, hadith 26, p. 298. See also hadith 27, where he has narrated the same hadith about Ali from another document.

[143] Verse 79 of Surah 56, "The Event." The Qur'an has seven inner meanings that cannot be discerned except by those whose hearts are pure.

[144] *Aʿyān al-Shiʿa*, "The Virtues and Advent of His Holiness Imam al-Kāzim (as)," vol. 4, part 2, p. 8.

[145] *Aʿyān al-Shiʿa*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 88, "The Virtues and Advent of His Holiness Imam al-Kāzim (as)."

[146] Ahmad Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1379 AH), vol. 2, p. 123.

[147] This narrative is from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd Shāfiʿī. However, it is related in Shiʿite narratives that they wanted to pay homage to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

[148] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, pp. 219–21.

[149] Ibn Athīr Jazarī has narrated in *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 40, that Faḍl Ibn ʿAbbās Ibn Otayba Ibn Abī Lahab has said that these elegies were lamentations for Ali. Therefore, the meaning of the third verse

وَمَنْ جِبْرِيلُ عَوْنٌ لَهُ فِي الْغُسْلِ وَالْكَفْنِ

is that Ali is the one for whose body Gabriel took part in the final ritual washing. Here, the words *ghusl wa kafn* are in the passive infinitive case, but not the active, because either Faḍl Ibn ʿAbbās Ibn Otayba was not born before the Prophet's death, or he was still a child. And ʿAbd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī Rāzī, in the book *al-Naqḍ*, which is known as *Baʿḍu Mathālib al-Nawāṣib fī Naqḍ baʿḍu Faḍā'iḥ al-Rawāfiḍ*, written about 560 AH, has these lines together with

مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي رَدَّدَ عَنْهُ فَتَعَلَّمَهْ هَا إِنَّ يَعْتَكُمْ مِنْ أَغْبَنِ الْغَبَنِ

This is by Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit Dhu al-Shahādatayn, whose status was so high that the Prophet would accept his testimony for that of two persons. It is said that he read this poem when he heard that they had sworn allegiance to Abū Bakr. And Muhaddith Ormawī says in the annotations of *Naqd*: "In *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra*, Sayyid Murtaḍā has attributed these elegies to Rabīʿah Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; and Qāḍī Nūrallāh Shūshtarī, in the third part of the *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, in the translation by ʿAbbās Ibn Otayba Ibn Abī Lahab, supports this." Qāḍī Nūrallāh says that it is written in the *al-Iṣābah* of ʿAbbās Ibn Otayba's father, who lost his faith through the Prophet's curse, and died a disbeliever. This ʿAbbās was his only son, and was quite a mature young man when the Messenger died. He had a son called Faḍl who was a famous poet, and the one who composed the famous poem on the virtues of Ali that begins with *Mā kuntu aḥsib*... Qāḍī Nūrallāh has said that some people say it was written by Hissān Ibn Thābit, who composed it before Abū Bakr was caliph, and prior to when Othmān secured his allegiance and gave him authority over the public treasury. Qāḍī Bayḍāwī and others corrected it in their commentaries. He stated that the confirmation of this is Shaykh Muhammad Muḥyī al-Dīn Shaykh Zādeh's explanation in the *Bayḍāwī*, vol. 2, p. 1, where, after the first line, he has rendered the second verse as

أَلَيْسَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ صَلَّى لِقِبْلَتِكُمْ وَأَعْرَفَ النَّاسِ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَالسُّنَنِ

It has also been said that these elegies are from Ḥassān Ibn Thābit Anṣārī, but the fact is that they are from Rabīʿat Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Muṭṭalib, who composed them when people were paying homage to Abū Bakr, as Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā has made clear in his book. As for his lying against the son of ʿAbbās Ibn Otbah, one can say that this is the meaning of the words

مَا كُنْتُ أَحْسِبُ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ مُنْصَرِفًا

before disqualifying Ali from the caliphate, since he could not imagine such a thing. And it is obvious that ʿAbbās had no such son at the time of dispensing with the caliphate other than Hasan, who lived at the time of the Prophet, and it had never crossed his mind to consider Ali at that time.

انتهى كلام قاضى نور الله.

Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī relates in his book all this news to ʿAbbās Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, as

فَخَرَجُوا مِنْ عِنْدِهِ، وَأَنْشَأَ الْعَبَّاسُ يَقُولُ مَا كُنْتُ أَحْسِبُ

and Majlisī has the narration in the *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, in the section about the usurpation of the caliphate (p. 57, Company edition). The author of

رَوْضَةُ الصَّفا

mentions this statement and two narratives in the final part of his second book. He also mentions this in

رَوْضَةُ الْجَنَّاتِ.

However, ᶜAdī Ibn Ḥātam Ṭāʾī was opposed at this stage, and said: "It is not permissible to deviate from the main point without the permission of the present imam." This was too much for the people of Iraq and the Ḥijāz, especially the Banī Hāshim, and they started reciting one of the elegies that ᶜAbbās Ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib had composed at the time they paid allegiance to Abū Bakr, which means:

> I wonder why the caliphate was turned away from Hāshim, and then from Abū al-Hasan?
>
> No, he was never the first who stand to the Qiblah [prayed], nor was he the most learned in the revelation or the traditions.
>
> He was neither close in his compact with the Prophet, nor assisted Gabriel in giving him the final wash and enshrouding him.
>
> There is not anyone like him who has the attributes of Ali and the manners of Hasan.

And in the *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Qāḍī Nūrallāh speaks about this subject, where he says that at the beginning of the third part of the translation of ᶜAbbās ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, p. 28, first printing, the author of *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ* has said that when Abū Bakr usurped the caliphate, ᶜAbbās composed a few lines of poetry that begin: "I wonder why the caliphate was usurped..." And in the *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 1, p. 68, it is narrated that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd said:

وقال بعض وُلْد أبي لَهَب بن عبد المطلب: ما كنت أحسب.

In addition, this elegy has been referred to by Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, although it has not been found anywhere. Although Khuzaymah has an elegy about the imams, it is not this one, adapted from pp. 30–31.

[150] The lineages of Ali and Abū Sufyān originate from his son Quṣṣay, then Abū al-Hasan, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ibn Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim Ibn ʿAbd Manāf, Ibn Quṣṣay, Ibn Kilāb, and Ibn Murrah; and Abū Sufyān from Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Omayyah Ibn ʿAbd Shams Ibn ʿAbd Manāf Ibn Quṣṣay Ibn Kilāb Ibn Murrah. However, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is from the Qurayshī Hāshimī, and Abū Sufyān is from the Qurayshī Omawī, and both are the children of ʿAbd Manāf, who had two children, one of whom he called Hāshim, and the other ʿAbd Shams. The Banī Hāshim come from the children of Hāshim, that is, the son of ʿAbd Manāf, and the Banī Omayyad from the children of Omayyad, the grandson of ʿAbd Manāf. Nevertheless, both tribes are from the Banī Aʾmām. In these elegies, Abū Sufyān says: "O Ali, all the children of Quṣṣay, whether from the Banī Omayyad or the Banī Hāshim, are your supporters."

[151] Ghālib Ibn Fahr Ibn Mālik Ibn Naṣr Ibn Kināna was the great-grandfather of Murrah Ibn Kaʿb Ibn Luyya Ibn Ghālib. Abū Bakr and Omar are children of Ghālib, and their lineages are too far removed from the Banī Hāshim and Banī Omayyad. Therefore, Abū Sufyān said: "They are unknown among the Arabs, and they are not of our lineage or yours. They must not have authority, since the government must be in the hands of the Banī Hāshim, who are closer to the Messenger of God." We see that what disturbed Abū Sufyān was government by those who were not in the same lineage, since he said that the Banī Hāshim were better because they were closer and of the same lineage. This was why he wanted to swear allegiance to Ali and encourage all the Banī ʿAbd Manāf to do likewise. He was ready to travel to Medina on foot, but not for the sake of God, but to gather more people to pay homage to Ali. On seeing his ungodly intention, Ali rejected his request and did not accept his allegiance, saying: "You have always been a devilish hurdle for Islam!"

[152] In the *al-Naqṣ* (Tehran: Sepehr Press, 1371 AH), p. 30, al-Jalīl Qazwīnī Rāzī has said that the elegies were from Abū Sufyān Ibn Ḥarb, and that on the day of swearing allegiance, Abū Bakr went to Ali's door and read them aloud.

[153] Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 104–5.

[154] *Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 123–26.

[155] Umm Misṭaḥ was the daughter of Abū Ruhum Ibn Muṭṭalib Ibn ʿAbd Manāf, who was of the Muṭṭalib Ghuraysh, and her real name was Ans. She was the cousin of Abū Bakr, and her mother was the daughter of Ṣakhr Ibn ʿĀmir. It has been said that her mother was Salma, the daughter of Ṣakhr Ibn ʿĀmir Ibn Kaʿb Ibn Saʾd Ibn Taym

Ibn Murrah. See *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 618, old edition. See also the latest Shaʿb edition, vol. 7, p. 393.

[156] These elegies, which are eight lines altogether, are in Ahmad Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī's *al-Iḥtijāj* (Qum: Islamiyya Press, 1384), vol. 1, p. 145, and are attributed to Fāṭimah Zahrāʾ, who composed them at the end of her famous sermon.

[157] *Sharḥ Nahj-al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 50.

[158] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 154.

[159] Faḍl Ibn Shādhān Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Tehran: Nāṣer Khosro Press, 1372 HS), vol. 4, p. 272.

[160] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, pp. 403–4, hadiths 3 and 4.

[161] *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 802. This is clarified in the *Ghāyat al-Marām* by the addition of

نَحْنُ اُولِيائُنا

[162] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, p. 404, the first hadith, with the fourth one from the Sunnis. The first narrative is also mentioned in Qummī's commentary.

[163] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, p. 404, where the first and fourth hadiths are from the Sunnis, and the first one is mentioned in Qummī's commentary.

[164] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, part 2, p. 404, the fifth hadith, which is from the Sunnis.

[165] Under the entry of "S" in the *Deh Khodā* dictionary, p.132, it states that the word "patience" is written in Persian with *zabar* [the vowel sign (') corresponding to "a" in "o" in English] on the first letter, and the second one is muted. In this poem, however, the poet has used the upper case *zabar* for the second letter.

[166] *al-Naqḍ*, pp. 652–53.

[167] At the beginning of *al-Naqḍ*, ʿAbd al-Jalīl Ibn Abī al-Husayn Qazwīnī states that he wrote his book in the month of Rabīʿ Awwal, 556 AH, and apparently the *Baʿḍu Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* was written soon after. Ghazvīnī agrees, and has entitled his book *Baʿḍu Mathālib al-Nawāṣib fi Naqḍ Baʿḍu Faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ*.

[168] According to what Ṭabarsī relates in his *Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100, when Salmān got up to speak, he said: "You have left it half done! Before coming to the mosque, Salmān had rejected the idea of swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr, and he had put up with so much that his neck was twisted and broken!" In lessons 110 to 115 of *Knowing the Imams*, p. 112, we mention a narrative from Sulaym Ibn Qays, quoting Ali, that concerns referring to the most learned.

[169] The word *shibr* indicates the distance between the tip of the index finger and the small one when the hand is outstretched, and *fitr* indicates the space between the tip of the index finger and the forefinger when the hand is outstretched. And *qis shibrak bi fitraka* means "always take on what you can, but try not to go beyond your limit." Majlisī has translated it thus:

> Your
>
> فِتْر
>
> cannot be your *shibr*, just as one person is different from another, and it is impossible for a lowly person to reach the rank of a higher one." (*Iḥtijāj*, vol. 8, p. 43.)

[170] The editor of the *al-Naqḍ* says that the passage between two asterisks in the current copy is

باأكثر وعظكم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، ولا يسموا التي أكبر ما سمعتم من نبيكم.

[171] According to the narratives in Shaykh Ṭabarsī's *Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 104, Khālid Ibn Walīd, Salīm Mawlā Abī Ḥudhayfah, and Muʿādh Ibn Jabal each came along one after another with a thousand men, until there were four thousand altogether.

[172] *al-Naqḍ*, pp. 654–69.

[173] Āqā Bozurg Tehrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānif Shiʿa* (Najaf: Maṭbaʾa al Ghary, 1369 AH), vol. 2, p.122. This great man is the author of the *Maḥāsin*, which is considered one of the fundamental books of Shiʿism. He was one of the shaykhs of Kulaynī, who died in 328 or 329 AH, and he writes about him.

[174] Abū Ayyūb's address to Abū Bakr begins with *Ittaqi Allah*, whereas he addresses all the others at Saqīfa with the phrase *ruddu al-amr*.

[175] Abū Jaʿfar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Barqī, *Rijāl Barqī* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1383 AH), pp. 63–66, where the case of the twelve Migrants and Supporters has been beautifully expressed.

[176] Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Khiṣāl* (Tehran: Maktabat al- Ṣadūq, 1389 AH), sections 1–12, pp. 461–65, under the title of

الذين انكروا على ابى بكر جلوسه فى الخلافة وتقدمه على علىّ بن أبى طالب عليه السلام اثنا عشر.

[177] *Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, pp. 97–105.

[178] *al-Dharīᶜa*, vol. 18, p. 69, no. 720. He also says that the *Kashf al-Yaqīn* of Ibn Ṭāwūs was compiled to accompany the *Biḥār al-Anwār*, and he called its secret codes *shaf*. However, Majlisī attributed the *Kashf al-Yaqīn* to ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī, although ᶜAllāmah's *Kashf al-Yaqīn* narratives are not those printed in *Biḥār al-Anwār*. ᶜAllāmah Ḥillī has a book entitled *Kashf al-Yaqīn fi Faḍāil Amir al-Muᵓminīn*, where it is numbered 721 and recorded in *al-Dharīᶜa*.

[179] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, p. 8, pp. 42–43.
[180] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, pp. 38–44.
[181] ᶜAbdullāh Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (Najaf: Maṭbaᵓat al-Murtaḍawīyya, 1359 AH), vol. 1, pp. 198–200.
[182] ᶜAbdullāh ᶜInān Muḥāmī, *Tārīkh al-Jamᶜīyyāt al-Sirrīyya wa al-Ḥarakāt al-Haddāma*, p. 26.
[183] *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, pp. 170–71.
[184] There is no doubt about the Prophet's final testament concerning Ali, and the greatest scholars and historians have recorded it. However, as ᶜĀyisha, the daughter of the chosen caliph, was the principal opponent to Ali, she rejected it. This caused Ibn Khaldūn, who was a Sunni and thought very highly of ᶜĀyisha, to agree with her. He then overlooked the facts in many narratives about the Prophet, as well as those about his Household, and above all, his daughter Siddīqa Zahrāᵓ Fāṭimah.
[185] Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-Dhihab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ondulus, 1393 AH), vol. 2, pp. 342–43.
[186] This means that Abū Sufyān wished to say this in the presence of the Banī Omayyad without any of the Banī Hāshim present. He wanted to keep it secret. We have explained Abū Sufyān's direct statements in a different way in *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 7, lessons 91–93.

And in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p.44, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd relates from Ahmad Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz that when the people swore allegiance to Othmān, Abū Sufyān said: "This matter of the caliphate first came about in the tribe of Taim, but what has it to do with Taim? Then it began in the tribe of Addī, and so it went further away. Then it turned back to the same areas. So hold it like a ball in a game! Kick it to the next one and carry on your game." And on p. 45, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd quotes Ahmad Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz as saying that Abū Sufyān told Othmān: "Give me the property altogether, be not like him whose actions were banned! And O Omayyad, like a child who takes

a ball from his opponent, you take the government for yourself and then pass it to the next one! By God, there is neither Heaven nor Fire!" Zubayr was present in the session, and Othmān told Abū Sufyān: "Be gone!" Abū Sufyān said: "O my sons! What? Is there anyone here?" and Zubayr said: "Yes, I swear by God that I am not concealing this story."

The narrator of this story, Mughayrah Ibn Muhammad, said: "As I presented this story to Ismāʿīl Ibn Isḥāq Qāḍī, he said: 'This narrative is not right.' I asked why, and he answered: 'I do not deny these words of Abū Sufyān, but I object to Othmān's hearing it and beheading him!'" (That is, if Abū Sufyān had said this, Othmān would have beheaded him).

[187] It is recorded by Muṣṭafā in ʿAbdullāh's *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* that the book of *Akhbār al-Zamān wa man Abādah al-Ḥaddathān* is in the history written by Masʿūdī (d. 346 AH):

إمام أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن الحسين (علي بن الحسين بن علي)

which is a very good volume that includes many geographical details and reports, the story of the genesis and generation of Adam, and of the nations that passed away and were lost. He also describes ancient kings and nations year by year in detail, and events up until the time the *Murūj al-Dhihab* was written in 332 AH. After the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, he wrote another shorter book, the *al-Ausaṭ*, which summarizes the *Akhbār al-Zamān*, which is in thirty sections.

[188] *Tārīkh Damishq*, vol. 3, p. 98.

[189] *Ḍuḥā al-Islam*, vol. 3, p. 209.

[190] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60; and *Iḥtijāj* of Ṭabrasī, vol. 1, p. 90.

[191] *Iḥtijāj* of Ṭabrasī, vol. 1, p. 90.

[192] *Kitāb Naqḍ*, p. 32. The letter and the reply are given in detail in *Iḥtijāj* of Ṭabrasī, vol. 1, p. 114.

[193] *Iḥtijāj* of Ṭabrasī, vol. 1, p. 115.

[194] *Muntakhab Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*, p. 57.

[195] Ḥākim Nīshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn fi al-Hadith* (Ḥaydar Abad Dakan: Maṭbaʾat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmiyyah, 1342 AH), vol. 3, p. 128. At the end of the narrative he says: "This narrative is authentic, and is not extracted from the documents of the shaykhs."

[196] *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*, pp. 58–63.

[197] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, pp. 90–91 citing from Muslim, *Sunan Bayhaqī*.

[198] This verse from *Surah Yusuf* here implies: "I will remain patient throughout this tragic event, for in this pain it is only God upon Whom I can rely."

[199] The whole verse from *Surah al-Raḥmān* reads

يسئله من في السموات والارض كل يوم هو في شأن.

[200] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān is referring to "I consulted with the people," but it is not recorded in the *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, 1326 AH, or in the *Kāmil* of Ibn Athīr. There may be omissions, but what ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān said is completely wrong. If it were right, he would have responded to the chiefs of the companions who were angry that he chose Othmān. He would have told them that he had already consulted with them, and what he did accorded with their own views. However, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān had no such excuse, so he just said to the companions: "I will never speak with Othmān during my lifetime, for I am in no mood to speak to him." He kept his word, and later on, when he fell ill and Othmān went to visit him, he turned his face to the wall before speaking to Othmān. The question is, can not speaking with Othmān or not being in the mood to speak to him expiate his mistake of misleading the people and taking them under his control?

[201] See Qur'an 2:235:

(حتى يبلغ الكتاب أجله) بقره

[202] *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 297; *ᶜIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 76.

[203] *al-Imāmat wa Siyāsat*, p. 26.

[204] *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 302.

[205] *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, pp. 293–94; *ᶜIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 72.

The Prophet had four daughters from his wife Khadījah, namely Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭimah. Ruqayyah was married in Mecca to Otayba, the son of Abī Lahab. Later, when Surah 111, *Ṭabbat*, was sent down, Abī Lahab told his son to divorce Ruqayyah, and this happened even before the marriage was consummated. After the divorce, Othmān married Ruqayyah in Mecca, and together they migrated to Abyssinia, where Ruqayyah gave birth to a son whom they named ᶜAbdullāh. This is why Othmān is called Abū ᶜAbdullāh (father of ᶜAbdullāh). When he was six years old, a cock pecked his eye and his face swelled up. It got worse, and he died in the lunar month of Jamadi al-Ulā, 4 AH, and the Prophet prayed over his body. When the Prophet was going to the Battle of Badr, Ruqayyah fell ill with typhoid, so he did not let Othmān go to Badr, but let

him stay in Medina and take care of his wife. However, Ruqayyah died in Othmān's house on the day when Zayd Ibn Haritha returned to Medina and spread the news of the Prophet's victory. Othmān later married Kulthūm. See *Tanqīḥ al-Maqal*, vol. 3, pp. 73–78; *Iʿlām al-Warā*, pp. 147–48; and *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 3, pp. 376–77.

[206] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 2.

[207] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, pp. 618-619; Mūḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah fi Manāqib al-ʿAsharah* with annotation by Muhammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, (Egypt: n.d.) vol. 3, p. 66.

[208] In al-Zarkalī's *al-ʿAlām* (Beirut: 1389 AH), vol. 1, p. 153, it is related that Mūḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī (615-694 AH) was called Ahmad Ibn ʿAbdullāh Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī. Abū al-Abbās Hāfiẓ was a Shāfiʿī jurisprudent and expert in the different sciences. He was born in Mecca where he also died, and was the Shaykh of the Shrine in Mecca. His books include *al-Samṭ al-Thamīn fi Manāqib Ommahāt al-Muʾminīn, al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah, al-Qurā al-Qāṣid Umm al-Qurā; Dhakhāʾir al-Uqbā fi Manāqib Dhawi al Qurbā* and his *al-Aḥkām* (on laws and commands).

[209] *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah*, vol. 2, p. 182.

[210] Ibid. vol. 3, p. 66.

[211] Ibid. vol. 3, p. 66.

[212] Ali Ibn Muttaqī Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (India: Maṭbaʾat Othmaniyya, 1389 AH), vol. 3, p. 158.

[213] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, 13 AH, p. 9.

[214] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, p. 412; see also Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ-Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 338, where he says that Muʿāwiyah governed for forty-two years, twenty-two years of which he was governor of Shām after the death of his brother, Yazīd Ibn Abī Sufyān. This was after five years of Omar's caliphate until Ali's martyrdom in 40 AH. He was governor for twenty years until he died.

[215] *Taṭhir al-Jinān* published in the margin of *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-Muḥriqah*, pp. 37–38; see also Ibn Ḥajar Asghalānī Shāfiʿī, *al-Iṣabat*, vol. 3, p. 414, in the section on Muʿāwiyah.

[216] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 28, in the edition of Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, Egypt, 1382 AH; the words *mā ghāba Aliuun* are written with

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Therefore, the translation is how we have explained in the text. However, in the Umma publishing house edition, Egypt, 1328 AH, pp. 26–27, the same phrase is written with

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which therefore means: "Be aware that I am not ignorant of all those faults that the fault-finders have branded me with."

[217] *al-Imāmat wa Siyāsat*, p. 27.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid.

[220] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, p. 413.

[221] M. H. Ṭabātabā'ī, in the *Shi'a*, in his discussions with Henry Corbin concerning the first problem, in "The Fall of Guardianship and the Islamic Government," p. 27, has said:

> And besides his governing territory, Mu'āwiyah used to govern for years in Shām like the Arabian form of Khusraw, with a system that had only one ruler and was aggressive and dictatorial. Mu'āwiyah's only excuse was that the Roman Empire was nearby, and he had to govern that way; otherwise the caliph would not approve of his rulership.

The notes to pp. 324 and 325 state that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has related that when Omar was going to Shām, Mu'āwiyah went to welcome him with servants and wearing his best clothes. He approached and kissed Omar on the hand, and Omar said: "O son of Hind, I see that you are living in pleasure, enjoying yourself, wearing nice clothes, and have abundant blessings. I have heard that the needy and poor gather at your gate and ask permission to visit you and reveal their woes to you." Mu'āwiyah said: "O Commander of the Faithful, we are at the borders of the enemies of Islam (the Romans), and we wish them to see our comfortable and easy life. But we do not let the people have such lives, for we think that it is too much for them." Omar said: "I just asked you a simple question, but you lead me into a blind alley. If what you say is right, then your answer is wise, though you answered in a polite way."

Ibn Hajar in the *Iṣābah*, and Ibn Athīr in the *Usd al-Ghāba*, in the translation of the condition of Mu'āwiyah, have related something Omar said about Mu'āwiyah; they say once Omar saw Mu'āwiyah and said: "This is the Arabic form of Khusraw." Omar saw that Mu'āwiyah had a pompous life, and he lived quite differently from the Messenger of Allah; however, he approved of him and preferred him to the virtuous Messenger. Then, he let that aggressive one overdominate the poor people, and finally it led to the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the crimes of Mu'āwiyah, the Banī Omayyad, and Yazīd; refer to the book *al-Naṣāyiḥ al-Kāfiyah* by Sayyid Muhammad Ibn 'Aqīl.

[222] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, p. 413.

[223] *'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 71.

[224] Yahyā Ibn Jābir Balādhurī (Egypt, Dār al-Maʾārif, n.d.), *Anṣāb al-Ishrāf*, vol. 5, p. 18. In the section on "The Commander of the Believers" in the new edition, p.103, this is given as *laʾin walluhā al-ujaylaḥ*. See also Nisāʾī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah*, vol. 2, pp. 182–83.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Hammam Ṣanʿānī (d. 211 AH) has quoted ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn in his *Muṣannif*, vol. 5, pp. 446–47, as saying:

قال: كنت عند عمر بن الخطّاب حين ولّى الستّة الأمر فلمّا جازوا اتبعهم بصره، ثمّ قال: لئن ولّوها الأجيلح ليركبنّ بهم الطريق - يريد عليا.

[225] Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *Istīʿāb* (Egypt: Maktabat al-Nihḍa, 1380 AH), vol. 3, p. 1154.

[226] *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍarah*, vol. 2, p. 183.

[227] In Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 120, it states that Ṭalḥah asked Abū Bakr as he was dying: "How are you going to answer to God for choosing such a bad-tempered and ungodly man as caliph for us?" He also asked him: "O Caliph of the Messenger of God, during your life, even though you controlled him, and we could not bear him, what will our condition be when you have passed away and he is our caliph?"

Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah (4 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 119–20, also mentions Omar's bad tendencies where it states: "And when Omar was angry with one of the Household or his own relatives, his anger would not stop until he had bitten his hand so severely that it bled."

[228] Ibn Hishām, *Ṣirāt al-Nabawīyya* (Cairo: Maṭbaʾat Madani Qāhira, 1383 AH), vol. 4, pp. 1071–73. See also *Anṣāb al-Ishrāf*, section 1, p. 584. Omar is said to have begun his lengthy sermon after speaking about the two who had said they would pay homage to Ali.

[229] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 25; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has also related the same matter from Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim Balkhī and Shaykh Abū Othmān Hāḥiz.

[230] *Anṣāb al-Ishrāf*, vol. 5, p. 15.

[231] Ibid. vol. 5, p. 15.

[232] *Anṣāb al-Ishrāf*, vol. 5, p. 19. There is also something very similar in meaning in *ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 74.

[233] *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 3, p. 160.

[234] Muhammad Taqī Tustarī (Shūshtarī), *Qaḍāʾ Amir al-Muʾminin (as)* (Beirut: Dār al-Shimali, n.d.), pp. 281–82.

[235] Ḥāmid Ghazzālī, *Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn* (Najaf: Maṭbaʾat al-Nuʿmān, al-Najaf al-Ashraf, 1385 AH), p. 21.

[236] The best proof that he was a Shiᶜite is indeed the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn*. Qāḍī Nūrallāh Shūshtarī has related in the *Majālis al-Muʾminīn* that Ghazzālī was on the way to Mecca when he met Sayyid Murtaḍā ᶜAlam al-Hudā, and through his purified nature and soul he forsook Sunnism and embraced Shiᶜism. He then said:

> The friend inspired us with pure belief, and went by;
> He made an old pagan become a Muslim, and then went by.

He then goes on to say that the first martyr, Abū ᶜAbdullāh Muhammad Ibn Makkī, denies the meeting of Ghazzālī with Sayyid Murtaḍā.

Qāḍī Nūrallāh himself surmises that Ghazzālī's meeting was with Sharif Murtaḍā Abū Ahmad, the son of Sayyid Raḍī, and the author of the *Ṭarāʾiq al-Haqāqq* has also related the same thing from the *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*.

As Ghazzālī lived between 450 and 505 AH, and ᶜAlam al-Hudā between 355 and 436, it is impossible that they met. And according to what Ibn Athīr has written, Abū Ahmad, the son of Sayyid Raḍī, followed the path of Ali after Sayyid Murtaḍā Naqīb, and died in 449 AH, a year before Ghazzālī was born. Nor could he have met Ghazzālī. Āqā Muhammad Ali Kermānshāhī, the son of Waḥīd Behbahānī, has written in his *Qawamiᶜ al-Faḍl*, in answer to a question about Ghazzālī's discussion with Sayyid Murtaḍā on the way to Mecca, and then becoming a Shiᶜite and writing the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn*, that Ghazzālī had met with Sayyid Murtaḍā Raḍī, the writer of the *Tabṣirat al-ᶜAwām*.

And some people have surmised that perhaps Ghazzālī had met Sayyid Murtaḍā Alawī, who died in 480 AH. Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zayd Ḥusaynī was killed by the order of Khaghan Mawarāoʾ al-Nahr (from an abridgement of Ghazzālī's letter, pp. 327–29).

[237] Fayḍ Kāshānī, *al-Maḥajjat al-Bayḍāʾ* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1342 AH), vol. 1, p. 1.

[238] Jalāl al-Dīn Homaʾie, *Ghazzālī Nāmeh* (Tehran: Forūghi, 1342 HS), the biography, writings, religious and political thought, and belief of Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭūsī, pp. 272–74.

[239] *Sirr ᶜĀlamayn*, vol. 1, p. 500.

[240] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 215.

[241] Ibid., p. 36, with Abū Ḥāmid's explanation.

[242] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 98, from political discussions in Ghazzālī's books and the *Sirr ᶜĀlamayn wa Kashf mā fi al-Dārayn*, of which there are two hand-written versions, one in the Library of Khadiwiyya and another in the Library of Berlin.
[243] Abū Ḥāmid's statement in vol. 1, p.1.
[244] *Sirr ᶜĀlamayn*, vol. 9, p. 236.
[245] *Tadhkirat*, vol. 1, p. 391, footnote.
[246] Sayyid Muhammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ᶜUlūm
[247] *al-Dharīᶜa*, vol. 12, p. 168. It mentions on the same page that there is another version of *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn* on matters of this world and the Hereafter, and in *Riyāḍ al-ᶜUlamā*, he says: "He has chosen the name of this book from the *Sirr al-ᶜĀlamayn* of Ghazzālī."
[248] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 25.

[249] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, p. 123.
[250] This man was Rabīᶜat Ibn Shaddād Khathᶜamī, and was with Ali at the Battles of Jamāl and Ṣiffin. His name, written as Khathᶜam, comes from his ancestor's tribe.
[251] The phrase *ghaḍab al-khayl ala al-lujum* is an Arabic proverb, and is said to someone who becomes angry without reason. The word *ghaḍab* is a verb drawn from the infinitive, and here means "Who got angry?" In this case it was the horse. See Maydānī, *Majmaᶜ al-Amthāl* vol. 2, p. 56.
[252] *Murūj al-Dhihab*, vol. 2, p. 350.
[253] It is recorded in the *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgah* by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 6, p. 148, that Marwān Ibn Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ᶜĀṣ Ibn Omayyad Ibn ᶜAbd Shams Ibn Manāf was born in the year 2 AH, and he died when the Prophet was eighty years old. The Prophet exiled his father Ḥakam to Ṭāʾif when Marwān was still a small boy, and when he had seen the Messenger of Allah, Ḥakam was in Ṭāʾif until Othmān became a caliph. So Othmān returned him, as well as his son Marwān, to Medina, and trusted them with some of his affairs. Marwān, even as a youth, became a major figure for Othmān. Ḥakam Ibn Abī al-ᶜĀṣ is Othmān's uncle, and he embraced Islam and became the beloved of the hearts on the day of the victory of Mecca. He died several days before Othmān was killed.
[254] *al-Imāmat wa al-Siyāsat*, pp. 30–31.

In Qurʾan 12:18, Jacob says: *...(for me) patience is most fitting. And God it is Whose help is to be sought against that which you describe.* "ᶜAbd Ṣāliḥ" (the righteous servant) refers to Jacob, who spoke these words to his sons when they returned from their journey and told him that a wolf had devoured Joseph.

[255] From "By God, if I am told..." up to the end is in sermon 15 of the *Nahj al-Balāghah*. Shaykh Muhammad Abda has all this in his separate recension, quoting Kalbī, who received it from Abī Ṣāliḥ through ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAbbās, who related the words of Ali.

[256] The Prophet enjoined people to pray a thousand cycles of voluntary prayer during the nights of Ramaḍān, but there were certain differences. What seems most probable is that for the first 20 nights of Ramaḍān, they must be prayed as 8 cycles after the sunset (*Maghrib*) prayer, and 12 cycles after the Ishāʾ prayer; then 22 cycles for the last 10 nights of the month. This amounts to a total of 700 cycles. Then, after every 3 nights of *Qadr*, 100 cycles are added, making 1000 cycles altogether. The Prophet used to make these prayers alone, and he would even avoid people if he wanted to pray them in the mosque and others wanted to follow him; and from time to time he would leave the mosque and go to his house to show that it is an individual prayer, and not congregational. As they are voluntary prayers, it is unlawful to make them congregationally.

It remained the same at the time of Abū Bakr. However, at the time of Omar, when he entered the mosque one night, he saw that people were praying individually, and he did not like it, and said that it is better for them to pray in a congregation. He chose one to lead the prayer, whom the rest followed, and from then on it became a mass prayer for the Sunnis, and is known as the *tarāwīḥ* prayer. This is an example of one of Omar's innovations.

[257] *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*, pp. 58-63.

[258] *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, pp. 196–98.

[259] *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 4, p. 5.

[260] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 1, p. 338, where Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:

> Right from the beginning, Muᶜāwiyah was the number-one enemy of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and he kept strictly away from him. So how could it have been the other way around, for on the day of the Battle of Badr, Ali killed his brother Hanzala, as well as his cousin Walīd Ibn Otbah. And Ali, together with his uncle Ḥamza, killed his grandfather. That is, Otbah or Ḥamza's uncle killed his own uncle, and although the narratives vary, Ali was a partner in this.

[261] *Murūj al-Dhihab*, vol. 4, pp. 40–41, and Dar-i Ondlus edition, vol. 3, pp. 454–55.

[262] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 10, p. 112.

[263] Ibn Shuᶜbah Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf al-ᶜUqūl* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣdūq, 1376 AH), p. 239.

[264] Abdul Karīm Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, published in the margin of *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, Ibn al-Ḥazm (Egypt: 1317 AH), p. 234, particularly the end of vol. 1, and vol. 2, p. 2.
[265] Aḥmad Amin, *Zahr al-Islam*, vol. 4, pp. 114–15.

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